

SHELLEY IN ENGLAND

NEW FACTS AND LETTERS
FROM THE SHELLEY WHITTON PAPERS

BY

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ED TO O I ETTER CV HE L

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND FACSIMILES

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PREFACE

AN explanation may be necessary for adding yet another biography to the already extensive list of books on Shelley. It is now some years since an important discovery relating to Shelley was made by Mr Charles Withall, of Messrs Withall & Withall, the successors to Mr William Whitton, who was entrusted more than a century ago with the legal business of Sir Bysshe and Sir Timothy Shelley. Mr Charles Withall happened to find, among the papers preserved in his offices, some letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley, and also some pamphlets, including copies of *A Necessity of Atheism* and *An Address to the Irish People*. This discovery encouraged Mr Withall to make a further search, which resulted in bringing to light other letters of the poet, besides a mass of correspondence, including numerous letters from various members of the Shelley family, as well as a large number of legal documents, pedigrees, Mr Whitton's letter book and diaries and other papers. Mr Withall caused copies to be made of most of this material, and, after arranging it in chronological order, he submitted the result of his labours to Sir

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John C. E. Shelley of Avington Park and Field Place. The papers were subsequently shown to the publishers of the present volume, who asked me to undertake the work of editing them. Many of the documents related to the estates of the Michells and the Shelleys, and they threw some light on the history of those families. The first of the poet's letters, twenty-nine in number and all unpublished, is dated February 6, 1810, the last January 31, 1818, from the earlier date to the poet's death and afterwards to the death of the poet's son, Sir Percy Florence Shelley, there are numerous documents, and letters written by Sir Bysshe Shelley, Sir Timothy Shelley, William Whitton, Mary Shelley, T. L. Peacock, and many others, including two unpublished letters of Lord Byron. The most satisfactory manner of utilising this material appeared to be that of retelling the story of Shelley's early years, the portion of his life that he passed in England, especially as many new facts have been brought to light since the publication of Professor Dowden's monumental biography of the poet.

In writing these pages I have refrained from moralising, or attempting any detailed criticism of Shelley's literary work. As a youth he was charming and irresistible to his friends, but he had many faults, and these faults, which to-day may appear to have been mere eccentricities, did not show themselves in that light to his father. Shelley undoubtedly desired a reconciliation with his father, whose nervous

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fears, however, a result chiefly of his solicitor's advice, were subsequently developed into an inflexible attitude towards his son.

The new letters of the poet throw some light on his relations with his father in regard to his life at Oxford, his expulsion from the University, his elopement and marriage with Harriet Westbrook. The fact that Shelley was actually married in Edinburgh is now revealed for the first time, with the date of the ceremony and the name of the officiating minister. That Shelley was arrested on two separate occasions for debt and that he appeared on the boards of the Windsor theatre as an actor in Shakespearian drama, are incidents in his life that hitherto have not been disclosed. The discovery by Mr Charles Withall, while this book was in the press, of the Coroner's documents relating to the inquest on Harriet Shelley's body, has cleared up certain doubtful points in regard to her death. I have been able to tell something about the fate of Harriet's two children, as also about the life of Sir Percy Shelley, the poet's son by his second wife, and to give some particulars concerning Mary Shelley after the death of her husband.

The manuscript note book of the poet, of which many pages are reproduced in reduced facsimile at the end of this volume, appears to have been found, after she was salvaged, in the *Ariel*, the ill-fated boat from which Shelley was drowned. Some sand from the Mediterranean Sea still clings to the original book.

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the pages of which long remained stuck together by the brine in which it had been soaked. The book contains a first draft of a portion of *Adonais* and the preface to that poem, besides the lines to Emilia Viviani and some verses in Italian, also a fair copy of a substantial part of *A Defence of Poetry*. The late Dr. Richard Garnett had evidently seen a portion of this book, as he printed, in his *Relics of Shelley*, a few passages from the draft of the preface to *Adonais*.

My acknowledgments are primarily due to Sir John Shelley, who has given his sanction to the publication of the Shelley-Whitton papers and permitted me to make use of many documents connected with his family. Sir John, moreover, has given his ready consent to the reproduction of the Shelley note-book in his possession, and has allowed his family portraits to be included among the illustrations. The miniature portrait of Shelley as a boy, by the Duc de Montpensier, which forms the frontispiece, is reproduced for the first time in photogravure from the original at Avington. Much of the beauty of this picture was lost in the engraving by J. G. Stodart which appears in Professor's Dowden's book, and the pencil drawing by Reginald Easton, now in the Bodleian, cannot be accepted as a faithful copy of the original. I have also to acknowledge the courtesy of Miss Shelley for reading the proofs.

To Mr. Charles Withall I owe a heavy debt of gratitude for his arrangement of the Shelley-Whitton

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papers, in itself a formidable task, which considerably lightened my labours as it enabled me to view the material in chronological sequence Mr Charles Withall has likewise constantly advised me on difficult and doubtful points, has carefully collated the documents, and placed at my disposal the copies of the papers relating to the inquest on Harriet Shelley and to her burial, the discovery of the originals of which is due to his industrious research

His brother Mr Walter Withall has kindly allowed me to use his photograph of Sir Percy Shelley, and he has supplied me with some interesting recollections of, and facts relating to, him and Jane, Lady Shelley I have to thank Dr W Shirley Arundell for allowing me to reproduce the portrait of William Whitton which is in his possession, and Mr R F Grimley and Nobile Donna Zella Opezzo for the use of the photograph of her great grandfather, Thomas Medwin Mrs Brodie Clark gave me some interesting information with respect to Shelley's first school at Brentford Mr Richard Edgcumbe allowed me to print a portion of Sir Walter Scott's letter to Shelley Mr Thomas J Wise related to me some particulars concerning Miss Hitchener I have again made use of Mary Shelley's letter to Leigh Hunt which Miss Alice Bird kindly allowed me to include in my collection of Shelley's correspondence

I have to thank Professor Thomas Seccombe and Mr Arthur Reynolds for reading proofs, Mr V C

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Turnbull for help in deciphering the contents of Shelley's manuscript book; and Mr R A. Streatfeild for transcribing and translating the Italian poems in the same book; also Mr. W. H. Helm and Mr Walter H. Whitear for suggestions

R I

July 1916

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*Percy Bysshe Shelley
From the miniature at Arlington
by the Duc de Montpensier*

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PEDIGREE OF SHELLEY'S DESCENT

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CHAPTER I

THE SHELLEYS

Early history—The Shelley and Michelgrove estates—John Shelley—Edward Shelley of Worminghurst—Timothy Shelley and his American wife—Bysshe Shelley his birth education and marriage—The Michells and Field Place—Bysshe Shelley's second marriage—The Duke of Norfolk—Sir Bysshe's declining years—Castle Goring

THE Shelley family has long been settled in Sussex where the name is not uncommon. Genealogists and habitually sanguine class have traced the poet's line from an ancient origin. The roll of Battle Abbey contains the name of a Shelley who tradition says came to these shores with the Conqueror. There were Shelleys in the past who held high offices and otherwise distinguished themselves by valiant deeds. Formerly they were staunch adherents to the ancient faith and one of the name was punished by death for conspiring against Protestant Elizabeth in order to release Catholic Mary Queen of Scots.

The family to which the poet owed his descent

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claimed to have derived its name from the Manor of Shelley, which with Schottis in Knockholt and other lands in Kent was held by Thomas Shelley in the reign of Edward the First. This Manor of Shelley was sold in 1537, but not before a John Shelley had acquired the estates of Michelgrove in Sussex, by his marriage with the daughter of John Michelgrove, and the descendants of this John Shelley now hold the two Shelley baronetcies. His eldest son, Sir William Shelley, Knight, was one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, and grandfather of the John Shelley who was among the earliest to be created a baronet in 1611, the year in which James the First instituted the dignity of baronets. Edward Shelley of Worminghurst, who died in 1588, brother of the above-named Sir William, was the ancestor of Bysshe Shelley (made a baronet in 1806), and of his grandson Percy Bysshe Shelley, whose name alone confers a distinction on that branch of the family which otherwise is not conspicuous.

The poet's great-great-grandfather, John Shelley of Fen Place, Worth, Sussex (born January 27, 1666; married, in 1692, Hellen, one of the co-heirs of Roger Bysshe of Fen Place, Sussex), had five sons. Timothy his third son was born in 1700, and having only a remote chance of succeeding to the family property, like the cadet of many a family of good position, went



SIR WILLIAM SHELLEY

*After the picture of the Hon. H. P. in
the presence of Sir John Shelley, Bart.*

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forth to make his way in the North American colonies where he married Mrs Johanna Plum, a widow of New York. The dates of his emigration marriage and return to England have not been identified but he appears to have settled in Newark New England where his two sons John and Bysshe were baptized at Christ Church in 1729 and 1731 respectively. The Church archives however which might have supplied the date of his marriage and other particulars were burnt by the British troops in the war of independence¹

At Guildford which is closely connected with Newark entries exist from 1632 onwards of the births marriages and burials of a number of persons bearing the name of Shelley. But the only substantial record that has been brought to light of Timothy Shelley's sojourn in America is a *post obit* document dated 1735 and filed among the deeds in New York City in which he describes himself as a 'Merchant of Newark in America' and promises to pay the sum of £100 so soon as he shall be possessed of an estate of the value of £200 a year which belonged to his father, "John Shelley of Ten Place in the County of Sussex in Great Brittain Esq

It would seem therefore that Timothy did not find the fortune in America that he sought. Although

¹ See 'The Search for Shelley's American Ancestor' by John Malone
Celebrity Magazine 116 August 1892

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described as a merchant, Medwin states, but for the truth of the story he says he "cannot vouch," that Timothy's younger son, Bysshe, exercised in America the calling of quack doctor, and married the widow of a miller. If there is any foundation for the legend, it must relate to Timothy Shelley, the great-grandfather of the poet, and not to his grandfather Bysshe, who could have been no more than a child when he came to England.

Timothy Shelley's eldest brother, Bysshe, died unmarried in 1733, and ten years later his brother John, the second son, was declared insane. Timothy may have returned to England some time before 1739, the year of his father's death. In 1738, his father, John Shelley, executed his will, and gave to his wife certain freehold hereditaments in Sussex for life, and after her death he gave the same to his son Timothy and the heirs male of his body. To his grandson Bysshe, then a boy of eight, he devised, by a codicil dated 1739, certain copyholds held of the Manor of Streatham in fee, and bequeathed to him a sum of £2000 and all his jewels, rings, plate, linen, books and things lately belonging to his *son* Bysshe. By the death of his uncle, Edward Shelley, in March 1748-49, Timothy inherited Field Place, on condition that he should re-settle all the property derived from his father, on his eldest son John, and after his death on Bysshe.



JOHN SHELLEY

*After the picture by Thomas Gainsborough P.A.
in the possession of Sir John Shelley, Bart.*



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Stolid John Shelley¹ therefore was in the ordinary course of things heir to the estates. His grandfather John left to him a legacy of £100 to his brother Piercy £500 and from the bequest of the copyholds at Streatham it would seem that the old gentleman had some knowledge of and a liking for his grandson Bysshe and especially desired to provide for him.

Young Bysshe a brown eyed bright lad with good looks and engaging manners was also a favourite with his grandmother Hellen Shelley who in her will executed in 1740 (she died two years later) gave him some of her personal treasures namely her walnut tree cabinet and her small cabinet inlaid with ivory all her ready money mortgages bonds bills notes plate diamonds rings pearl necklace and half her best linen and she devised to him her freehold land near Willett's Bridge in East Grinstead. She furthermore ordered her executor to bring up and educate her said grandson in an handsome manner and with a scholastick and gentleman like education.

¹ The portraits of John Shelley and his brother Bysshe both taken in their declining years offer a striking contrast. There is nothing remarkable in the face of the elder man. It is typical of many a squire in the county who loved good living and the solid comforts of a country gentleman in easy circumstances. As a matter of fact he added nothing by his own exertions to the family estates and died childless. The face of the younger might be that of a diplomatist of one who thoroughly understood the game of life and who played his cards successfully. As boys one would expect John to be stolid and dull and Bysshe handsome and vivacious.

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so that he may be fitten to be bred up or put to the Law or some other gentleman like science or employment And she ordered and did thereby fully direct that her trustees thereafter named take special care that her said grandson should not be sent or putt to sea on any account or pretence whatsoever, or by any persons whomsoever" Although Mrs Shelley appointed her son Timothy as one of the two trustees and guardians of Bysshe, her bequests to this grandson and the specific injunctions as to his upbringing would seem to show disapproval of Timothy Shelley's American wanderings, and to reflect on his occupation and colonial manners, which evidently were to her mind unworthy of Bysshe She does not appear to have been concerned about the education of her elder grandson John, and only bequeathed him a legacy of £100

Bysshe Shelley grew up a remarkably handsome man, fully six feet in height, polished in manners and address, and with a small fortune of his own which he took an early opportunity of increasing by marrying an heiress. In connection with this marriage, Medwin speaks of him as possessing "the *prestige* that never fails to attach itself to the travelled man" Perhaps the tour of Europe was a part of the early training provided for by his thoughtful grandmother At any rate, at the age of twenty-one, in 1751, he captured the

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heart of Miss Mary Catherine Michell, a girl of sixteen ¹ the orphan daughter of the Rev Theobald Michell of Horsham who died in May 1737

The frequent occurrence of the name of Michell in connection with that of Shelley has led to some confusion and one of the most frequent errors is that Field Place the birthplace of the poet, came into the possession of the Shelley family through the marriage of Bysshe Shelley with Mary Michell. As a matter of fact she never possessed the house and it did not fall into Bysshe Shelley's hands until many years after her death.

We find the first mention of the house in the will of Richard Mychell the elder of Warnham in 1524 who gave his wife the choice 'whether she dwelt at Stamerham or at ffelde place'. After this date for more than two hundred years, Field Place remained Michell property, and it passed into the Shelley family in the following manner. Timothy Shelley of Champneys married in 1664 Katherine daughter of Edward Michell of Stamerham by whom he had a son John Shelley—the poet's great great grandfather referred to

¹ In the settlement relating to the estates derived by Miss Mary Catherine Michell from her father and mother and dated 22nd July 1754 where she is stated to be nineteen years of age it was agreed between Bysshe Shelley and his wife Mary Catherine that within three months of her attaining the age of twenty-one these estates should be settled on Bysshe for life with remainder to his wife for life with remainder to the first and every other son of Bysshe and Mary Catherine Shelley in tail male

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above. Timothy Shelley's second wife was Mary Cheale, who bore him a son, Edward, in 1670. On the death of Timothy Shelley, his widow, Mary Shelley, was married a second time to John Michell of Field Place. This John Michell had by his wife three sons, none of whom left issue, and Field Place thereupon devolved on his daughter Ann, afterwards Mrs. Slyford, the mother of four daughters, from whom the property, having first been mortgaged to, was purchased in June 1729 by the Edward Shelley before mentioned, whose Michell grandparents had held these estates. Edward Shelley was a barrister of the Middle Temple, who lived to a ripe age, and died a bachelor in 1747-48, by his will dated 1746 he devised his estates, including Field Place, to his nephew Timothy (son of the John Shelley mentioned above), and after his death to John, eldest son of Timothy, and if he died without issue, which event happened, to Bysshe for life, with remainder to his second son Timothy in tail male. And he provided that if the said John or Bysshe should marry before twenty-three, or should not conform to the rites or ceremonies of the Church of England, and thus continue the exercise of the Protestant religion, then in either of said cases the estates to them respectively devised should cease.¹

¹ Percy Bysshe Shelley was descended from Edward Michell of Stamerham (who was married in 1640) in three lines, as great-great great-

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To return to Bysshe Shelley's matrimonial project we find that it did not run smoothly, for Miss Michell's guardian refused to countenance the match. She was however undaunted by this opposition and eloped with her handsome suitor to London where they were married at the chapel of Alexander Keith, the shady Mayfair parson, Bysshe ignoring the provision in his uncle's will married at twenty two. Keith is generally credited as having solemnized the much discussed marriage of the fair Quaker Hannah Lightfoot with a mysterious personage supposed to be none other than the son of Frederick Prince of Wales young Prince George afterwards George III. In the early years of the eighteenth century Fleet marriages were a byword and hardly less notorious were the marriages at Keith's chapel the parson himself was only second in popularity to the blacksmith of Gretna Green in the estimation of couples bent on contracting clandestine unions. Keith's chapel stood near the present one in Curzon Street and its incumbent paid just as much attention as suited him to the forms of the legal ceremony. Later Keith was excommunicated for celebrating marriages without banns or licence and he was finally imprisoned in the Fleet. Here for some years

great grandson through his father Timothy Shelley and as great great grandson through Bysshe's marriage with Mary Catherine Michell and the same relationship through his father's marriage with Miss Pilfold

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he enjoyed considerable prosperity, but the Marriage Act put an end to his practices, he fell on evil times and died poverty-stricken in prison

Altogether, Keith and his four priests are said to have "solemnized" upwards of four thousand weddings. Some biographers have stated that Bysshe Shelley was married in the Fleet, but the Shelley pedigree at the College of Arms states that the marriage took place at "Keith's Chapel, Mayfair, in 1752." Keith, however, could not himself have performed the ceremony, as he was at that date safely lodged in the Fleet.

Bysshe Shelley and his bride left London soon after the marriage for Paris, where, on their arrival, Mrs Bysshe was attacked with smallpox, from which she was not at the time expected to recover. She lived, however, to become the mother of three children, two daughters and a son Timothy, the poet's father, but she died in 1760 at the early age of twenty-five.

After nine years of widowerhood, Bysshe Shelley married (and is said also to have eloped with) another heiress, namely, Elizabeth Jane Sidney, the daughter of William Perry of Penshurst, and a collateral descendant through her mother, Elizabeth Sidney, of Sir Philip Sidney. His eldest son by this union, John Shelley-Sidney of Penshurst, was made a baronet in 1818, and the baronet's son¹ was created

¹ Philip Charles Sidney, the second baronet, he married Lady Sophia FitzClarence, daughter of King William IV by Mrs Jordan



SIR BYSSHE SHELLEY BART

*After the picture by Sir William B. Bart, R.A.
the possession of Sir John Shelley Bart*

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Baron De L'Isle and Dudley in 1835 From a worldly point of view therefore Bysshe Shelley continued to prosper for he inherited the Shelley family estates in 1790 on the death, without issue, of his elder brother John Shelley of Field Place From his early days it was Bysshe Shelley's desire to found a great house and to retain for his family by entail the fortune he had amassed He attained his object by making two wealthy marriages and by luck which favoured him in his undertakings As a younger son of a younger son born far from England in a small country town of the American colonies Bysshe Shelley's prospects of inheriting the family estates must at one time have seemed remote and it was only by a chain of fortuitous events that they ultimately reached him Yet this clever ambitious man lived to become one of the wealthiest landowners in the county of Sussex He was not the kind of man to neglect anyone who was likely to be of use to him and he was careful to cultivate the friendship of Charles eleventh Duke of Norfolk A firm supporter he was of the Whig party as represented by the Duke who for services in the past and perhaps as a security of his devotion in the future in 1806 secured a baronetcy for Bysshe Shelley

Except an intelligent face and great worldly possessions there was little to attract either in the character or person of Jockey of Norfolk as the Duke

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was familiarly termed As a youth he did not trouble himself with book-learning, and as a young man he turned Protestant for political reasons A sensualist, glutton, drunkard and gambler, despite his enormous size, he loved to travel at break-neck pace all over the kingdom, from Greystoke, his place in Cumberland, to Holme Tracey and Arundel Castle When in London he was habitually to be found at the gaming clubs in St James's Street, and he pursued his innumerable amours to the end Many stories are told of his hard drinking, his gargantuan appetite for beefsteaks, his lack of personal cleanliness, and his unwieldiness Shortly before his death he was subject to lethargy Charles Morris, in *The Clubs of London*, relates that towards the evening the Duke would become immovable in his chair "He would then request the bell to be rung three times, this was a signal for bringing in a kind of easy litter, consisting of four equidistant belts, fastened together by a transverse one, which four domestics placed under him, and thus removed his enormous bulk, with a gentle swinging motion, up to his apartment Upon these occasions the Duke would say nothing, but the whole thing was managed with great system and in perfect silence" Such was the man into whose hands Sir Bysshe and his son entrusted their honour

Like his father, Sir Bysshe is said to have actually

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practised medicine in London in partnership with Dr Graham notorious for his Temple of Health at which Emma Hart (afterwards Lady Hamilton) assisted but the story is discredited His grandson the poet assured Hogg he had heard on good authority that Sir Bysshe with whom he was acquainted had lent the Doctor money to enable him to set up a purple chariot

Medwin's recollections of Sir Bysshe Shelley in his declining years are by no means edifying He is described as having a noble and aristocratic bearing the portrait of him by Beechey at Avington shows him to have been decidedly handsome and there is some likeness traceable in the upper part of his features to those of his illustrious grandson Age however had brought no influence to mellow his selfish and acquisitive nature he was hard headed and headstrong to the last

For his children he probably felt little affection and he certainly showed none, two of his daughters by the second marriage led such miserable existences under his roof that they married without his consent rather than endure his temper he retaliated by making a scanty provision for them in his will

His eldest son and heir Timothy lived in dread of him but managed to avoid an open quarrel with his sire He received every morning so Medwin assures us a bulletin of the old man's health

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hardly, however, it may be presumed, as an act of filial piety

In his grandson, Percy, Sir Bysshe is said to have shown an interest, and he even went so far as to pay the bills of the Horsham and Worthing printers who put into type some of the boy's earliest efforts at writing, which apparently are no longer extant Hogg, who says that Shelley used to speak of his grandfather without love or hate, but with contemptuous indifference, suggests a certain indistinct sympathy as existing between these two natures, so opposite and antagonistic, on the common ground that they both disliked Timothy Shelley, whom the old man first taught his grandson to curse Shelley told Hogg that whenever he went "with his father to visit Sir Bysshe he always received him with a tremendous oath, and continued to heap curses on his head as long as he remained in the room" ¹ Speculative opinions had no attraction for the baronet, whose matter-of-fact mind allowed him to treat with toleration, born of indifference, those subjects that delighted his grandson and so greatly scared his son

Shelley's regard for his grandfather, if it ever existed,

¹ "Sir Bysshe being Ogygian, gouty, and bed ridden, the poor old baronet had become excessively testy and irritable, and a request for money instantly aggravated and inflamed every symptom, moved his choler, and stirred up his bile, impelling him irresistibly to alleviate his sufferings by the roundest oaths" (Hogg, i 139)

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did not survive his youth for in January 1812 he wrote to Miss Hitchener, 'I hear from my uncle that Sir B Shelley is not likely to live long—that he will die soon He is a complete atheist and builds all his hopes on annihilation He has acted very ill to three wives He is a bad man I never had respect for him I always regarded him as a curse upon society I shall not grieve at his death I will not attend his funeral I shall think of his departure as that of a hard hearted reprobate I do not know whether Sir Bysshe could claim to have married thrice but he certainly did not pine for the want of feminine society as in his will, in which he disregards the just claims of some of his lawfully begotten issue he does not forget to provide for several of his children born out of wedlock.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century Sir Bysshe Shelley began to build on a part of the settled estates comprised in the settlement of 1791 his great mansion Castle Goring which is said to have cost him upwards of eighty thousand pounds The house which stands on rising ground surrounded by about 130 acres of land commands an extensive view of the English Channel is of an extraordinary design and a substantial proof of Sir Bysshe's eccentric character This ambitious mansion is really composed of a pair of buildings joined in the centre having two distinct styles of architecture which were also carried out in the interior

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decorations The south-west front was designed by Biagio Rebecca, the Italian decorative painter, in the Palladian style from a villa in the vicinity of Rome The north-east façade, described as "Modern Gothic," is a reduced copy of a portion of Arundel Castle. Among the apartments on the ground floor was one which Sir Bysshe designed for a "Justice Room," but the house was still unfinished at his death, and soon afterwards (on August 21, 1816) was put up for sale by auction, but failed to find a purchaser It is not surprising, for in an order of the Court of Chancery of January 16, 1819, concerning the property, the house is described as in an unfinished and uninhabitable state.

In consequence of want of attention it had become infested with dry-rot, which had already made great ravages, and, if it were suffered to remain much longer without repair, there would not have been an inch of sound timber on the premises The only alternative was to pull down the building and dispose of the materials, which would have produced several thousand pounds But no such power existed under the settlement of 1791, it was therefore suggested that the difficulty might be overcome by an Act of Parliament Nothing, however, was done, for, in December 1824, Sir Timothy Shelley leased the house to Captain George Richard Pechell for fourteen years at a yearly rent of £20 Modest as this sum appears,

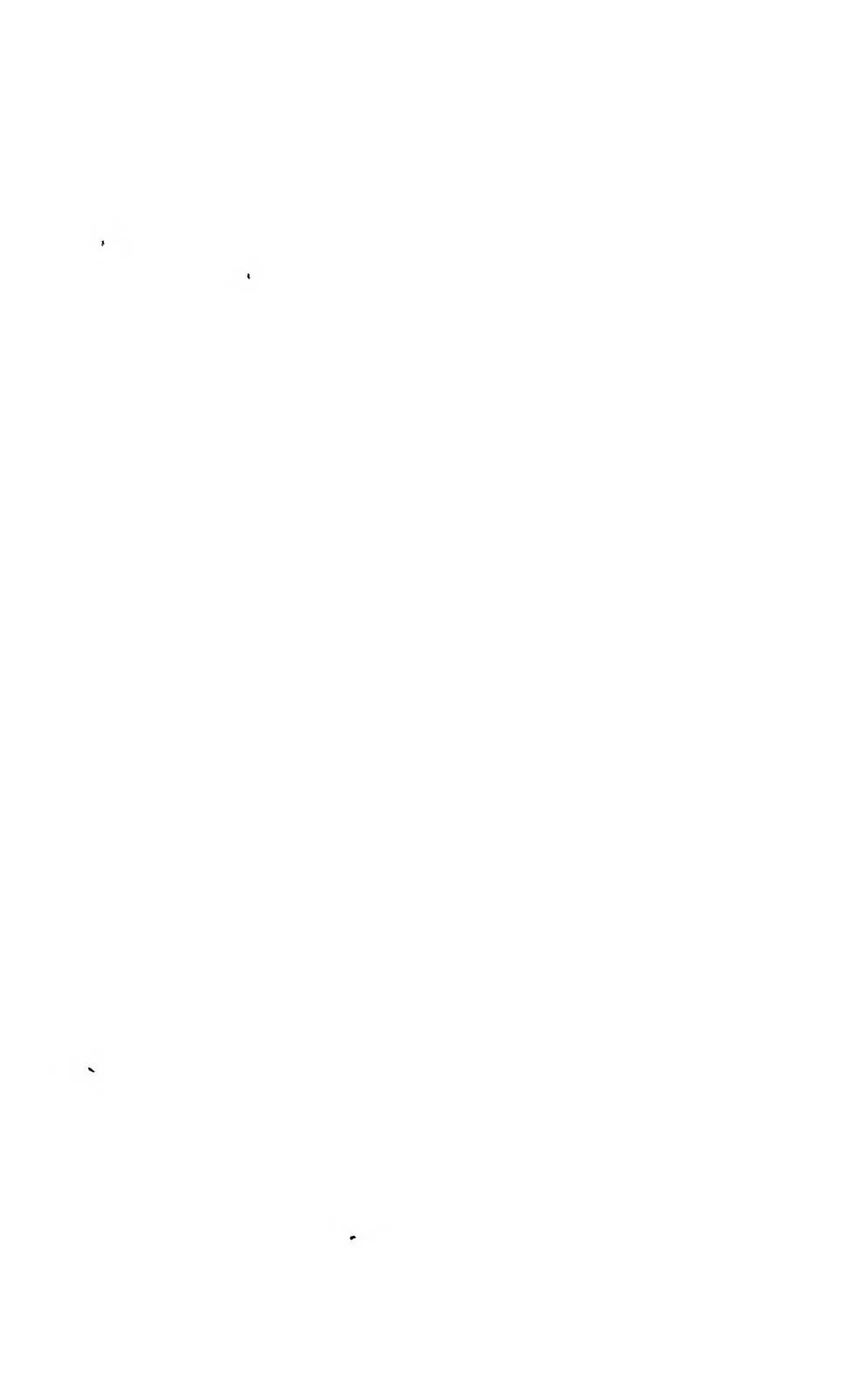


NORTH EAST FRONT



SOUTH WEST FRONT

CASTLE GORING



The Shelleys

the lessee covenanted for the tenant to put the place in repair within two years at his own cost and to insure the building against fire for £12 000. And it much needed a hand to arrest the decay into which it was crumbling from dry rot. The floorings of some of the rooms had fallen in. 165 large squares of glass besides smaller ones were wanting the woodwork was rotting the plastering was injured by damp and handles locks and keys were wanting. So much was required to be done to the building that Captain Pechell was not required to repair certain portions of it nor to complete the fittings of a space intended for the library.

The house with the land and buildings, including a farm the whole comprising 139 acres was sold in 1845 for £11 250 to Captain Pechell, then in occupation by the poet's widow Mary Shelley and her son Sir Percy F Shelley.

Sir Bysshe as an old man was eccentric and penurious. He spent a fortune in building Castle Goring and never completed it for his occupation but passed the last years of his life at Arun House a small place near the town hall at Horsham overlooking the river Arun where he practised the strictest economy and was attended by an old servant 'as great a curiosity as his master'. According to one authority¹ he was

¹ The unidentified newspaper editor who in his *Reminiscences*—*Fraser's Magazine* June 1841—says of Sir Bysshe to whom he had been introduced by his grandson the poet that according to the current gossip of the place

Shelley in England

as indifferent to his personal appearance as he was to his style of living. He wore a round frock, and one of his diversions was a daily visit to the taproom of a humble tavern in the town, "not drinking" but as a silent auditor of the local gossip. At the time of his death in 1815, at the age of eighty-four, besides the will and its elaborate accompaniment of legal documents, there were found in his room, according to Medwin, bank-notes to the amount of ten thousand pounds, some between the leaves of the few books he possessed, while others were discovered in the folds of the sofa, or sewn into the lining of his dressing-gown. Sir Bysshe's habit of hoarding money in his house is exemplified by some extracts from his trustees' accounts, with which I have been furnished. The value of the bank-notes discovered in the baronet's house was actually £12,816

in which he resided, he "had in his youth either been crossed in love, or had in a fit of passion committed some act of violence which had left a strong and melancholy impression on his mind. He had become what some persons would call eccentric, but he always struck me as having a dash of insanity."

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD

Timothy Shelley—His marriage—Field Place—Birth of Percy Bysshe Shelley—His appearance as a boy—Miss Hellen Shelley's stories of her brother's childhood—Early verses on a cat—His retentive memory—Begins to learn Latin

EITHER the education of Timothy Sir Bysshe's eldest son was sadly neglected or the recipient failed to derive much advantage from it. It was intended that he should enter Sidney Sussex College Cambridge¹ which was founded by Lady Frances Sidney Countess of Sussex and in which the family of his stepmother had interests. But he eventually went to University College Oxford at which college Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester founded two scholars' places, and the Sidneys as the heirs of Earl of Leicester had the right of nominating these two scholars. After the usual course of studies he made the Grand Tour of Europe but the only benefit that he derived from his travels was a smattering of French and a bad picture of Vesuvius in eruption. If we except a certain *air* miscalled that of the old school which he could put on or off as

¹ Medwin vol. 1 p. 10. Cf. also *University College Oxford* by G. M. Edwards p. 210.

Shelley in England

the occasion served " He did not possess the force of character of his father, who was a cynic, a maternalist, and latterly a miser, he had a kinder heart, though he made the fatal mistake of trusting his weak head to rule his heart¹ His well-meant intentions were often misdirected he had a passion, but little aptitude, for managing people, and he treated his servants well For outward forms and conventions he was a great stickler a church-goer, a reader of Paley's theology (whose chief arguments he claimed to have originated), he was a fussy, somewhat commonplace type of the squire of his day Notwithstanding the fact that his literary preferences inclined to La Rochefoucauld and Lord Chesterfield, he did not shine as a letter-writer as Member of Parliament for the Rape of Bramber, he failed to make any figure in the House, but was merely a consistent supporter of his own party

Sir Bysshe had established a precedent for his family on the all-important question of marriage, one may therefore be sure that the grand opportunity of Timothy Shelley's life was watched by his father with very critical eyes, and as one who had grown up with the tradition before him, if he did not marry money, his choice fell upon a gentlewoman of birth equal to his own Timothy Shelley had engaged himself before he

¹ " He was slight of figure, tall, very fair, with the Shelley blue eyes " (Dowden, *Life of Shelley*, vol 1 p 4)

Childhood

set out on his European travels to Elizabeth, a distant cousin and daughter of Charles Pilfold of Effingham Place, and was married to her in October 1791 at West Grimstead. She was a great beauty and had been brought up by her aunt Lady Ferdinand Pool the wife of the father of the turf. Mrs Timothy Shelley was narrow minded, mild and tolerant, a good letter writer but no reader of books. It was greatly to her disappointment that her son showed little disposition to take part in the field sports of a country gentleman. Timothy Shelley settled at Field Place which Miss R. C. Travers¹ says seems to have been nearly always a secondary or dower house. Sir Bysshe having other estates in Sussex and elsewhere gave up his life interest to his son Timothy in Field Place which had come into his possession in 1790 by the death of his brother and in this now historic house Timothy's first child and son Percy Bysshe Shelley, came into the world on Saturday August 4, 1792.² Field Place House which is situated

¹ In the following description of Shelley's birthplace I have made liberal use and in some cases have adopted the phrasing of an interesting and valuable illustrated description of Field Place by Miss R. C. Travers now Mrs H. M. Hyndman (her father Major Travers at one time occupied the house) which appeared in the *English Illustrated Magazine* under the title of 'The Youth of Shelley'.

² Medwin states (vol. 1, p. 1) that Shelley derived the name of Percy from an aunt who was distantly connected with the Northumberland family.

Shelley in England

in the parish of Warnham, about two and a half miles west of Horsham, stands in well-wooded grounds some distance from the road, in a slight hollow surrounded by trees, and is approached by a drive from the south. The ffeelde place mentioned in 1524 by Richard Mychell in his will, which is probably the core of the present building, was a timbered Sussex farmhouse, with the magnificent kitchen and the many little old rooms still remaining. In 1678 the Michells built the new front of Field Place, and a stone carving of their coat of arms with this date appeared under the central gable of the house until a recent tenant removed it. The stone was rescued by a local tradesman, who built it face inwards into the walls of a modern cottage near Broadbridge Heath, where it may still be found. The Field Place of to-day is a comfortable gabled structure "roofed with great slabs of Horsham stone", the pillared portico, or verandah, in front of the building which joins the two wings is a modern addition, put up in 1846 by Sir James Duke, a former tenant of the house. The front door in Shelley's time stood under the central gable, but it has since been removed and its place filled by a plaster relief of the nine muses, which was known as "Shelley's ladies" during Major Travers' occupation. The house remains much as Shelley knew it: the fine old oak staircase must often have echoed with his footsteps and those of his



D by D C II

FIELD PLACE
AS IT WAS IN SHELLEY'S TIME

Childhood

sisters, but one cannot say to what extent the grounds may have changed since his time. His great uncle John Shelley who like his grandfather Bysshe, was born in America, rebuilt the stables and it has been suggested that he planted the fine rhododendrons in the American garden.

On the ground floor in the south wing there is a room off the drawing room formerly known by the young people as "Confusion Hall," and over it on the next floor is the room in which Shelley was born. From the windows of this quiet and pleasant chamber he first took his view of the world—the south meadow the lawn and the great trees. Above the fireplace there is a brass tablet put up by Sir Percy Shelley inscribed with the date of the poet's birth and the following quatrain by Dr. Richard Garnett:

Shrine of the dawning speech and thought
Of Shelley! Sacred be
To all who bow where Time has brought
Gifts to Eternity

Six other children were born to Timothy Shelley on the following dates: Elizabeth May 10 1794, Hellen January 29 1796 and who died four months later, Mary, June 9 1797, another daughter also named Hellen September 26 1799, Margaret January 20 1801 and John the youngest March 15 1806. The daughters were all remarkable for their beauty, Hogg says it was often observed that 'very few families

Shelley in England

can boast of four such handsome girls" And Bysshe (as he was always called in the family) was as good-looking as his sisters a slight figure, with beautiful hands, white skin, and fair ringlets, his eyes are described as very dark blue. Miss Hellen Shelley, who has preserved, from recollection or from hearsay, most of the stories of Shelley's childhood, was only about twelve when Shelley left home for good. She is, however, our chief authority, in writing of her brother's personal appearance, she remembered that "his figure was slight and beautiful, his hands were models," and she referred to the "fixed beauty" of his eyes. On another occasion she says "The engraved portraits of Bysshe, which have hitherto been published, are frightful pictures for a spiritual-looking being like a poet. Yet I do not expect that my ideal will ever be created, because he must have altered from boy to man. His forehead was white, the eyes deep blue—darker than [his brother] John's. He had an eccentric quantity of hair in those days, when he came by stealth to Field Place, and Elizabeth, on one occasion, made him sit down to have it cut, and be made to look like a Christian." The written records of Bysshe's appearance as a child are borne out in the beautiful miniature portrait by the Duc de Montpensier now at Avington, which forms the frontispiece to the present volume.

Childhood

Bysshe's brother John was so much his junior that he hardly enters into his life but Miss Hellen Shelley recollected seeing the two boys at play together in the grounds at Field Place under the fir trees on the lawn Bysshe then from Eton on holiday gently pushing down his little brother in petticoats to let him rise and beg for a repetition of such falls, rolling with laughing glee on the grass and then wheeling the child along quickly in a little cart and upsetting him in the straw berry bed

Bysshe spent his early days at Field Place where he was brought up with his sisters to whom his good temper remained a pleasant memory, and Miss Hellen Shelley could not recall a single instance of the reverse towards any of them He was an imaginative boy, and was fond of inventing wonderful stories for his sisters' entertainment stories in the truth of which he himself would believe later These tales were listened to eagerly evening after evening when the little girls were admitted to the dining room for dessert They would sit on his knees, and he would tell them about the great Tortoise which lived in Warnham pond¹ a tale probably founded on an ancient local legend of a

¹ Medwin tells us (vol. 1 p. 13) that Mr Timothy Shelley kept a boat at Warnham pond a lake of considerable extent or rather two (lakes) connected by a drawbridge which led to a pleasure garden and a boat house There is a reference to the pond in the following letter the earliest extant of Shelley's voluminous correspondence which was

Shelley in England

Great Old Snake that haunted the neighbourhood also with another veteran, "a snake of unusual magnitude," that had frequented the gardens of Field Place, according to tradition, for three hundred years, it was accidentally killed by the carelessness of a gardener with his scythe while mowing the grass

The spacious garret under the roof of Field Place was made the fancied habitation of an old grey alchemist with a long beard whom Bysshe promised his sisters that they should see "some day"

His amusements were not, however, always of such a harmless character. He had a passion for playing with fire, and one of his tricks was to fill a portable stove with some inflammable liquid and carry it flaming through the kitchen to the back door. His cousin, John Grove, says that "in one of his experiments

written a few days before his eleventh birthday, and three years earlier than the birth of his brother John

Monday, July 18, 1803.

DEAR KATE,—We have proposed a day at the pond next Wednesday, and, if you will come to-morrow morning, I would be much obliged to you, and if you could anyhow bring Tom over to stay all night, I would thank you. We are to have a cold dinner over at the pond, and come home to eat a bit of roast chicken and peas at about nine o'clock. Mama depends upon your bringing Tom over to-morrow, and if you don't we shall be very much disappointed. Tell the bearer not to forget to bring me a fairing—which is some ginger-bread, sweetmeat, hunting-nuts, and a pocket-book. Now I end—I am not, Your obedient servant,

P B SHELLEY

MISS KATE,
HORSHAM, SUSSEX

Free, P B SHELLEY

Childhood

he set fire to the butler Laker and then soused him with a pail of water

On taking up the study of chemistry and electricity he became a terror to his sisters especially when he offered to cure their chilblains by means of an electric battery Miss Hellen Shelley relates an anecdote of her brother's kind thought for a sufferer from this painful complaint One morning while she was seated with others in the little sitting room at Field Place a countryman was observed to pass the window with a truss of hay on a prong over his shoulders the man when challenged proved to be Byshe in a rustic garb on his way to a young lady at Horsham who had been prescribed hay tea for her chilblains There is another story of his pranks at Field Place He once applied to Colonel Sergison in good Sussex dialect for the post of gamekeeper's boy and his suit was considered seriously whereupon he gave vent to an explosion of boisterous laughter

Sometimes he would take his sisters for long rambles and when his short cuts meant climbing fences and traversing muddy fields to the detriment of their shoes he would carry the little one of the party Miss Hellen Shelley's stories of her brother show that he was full of pleasant attentions to children His desire to adopt and educate a child was one that he cherished for some time She says that he 'often talked seriously of

Shelley in England

purchasing a little girl for that purpose . a tumbler, who came to the back door to display her wonderful feats, attracted him, and he thought she would be a good subject for the purpose, but all these wild fancies came to naught He would take his pony and ride about the beautiful lanes and fields surrounding the house, and *talk* of his intention, but he did not consider that board and lodging would be indispensable, and this difficulty probably was quite sufficient to prevent the talk from becoming reality ”

Once ¹ when he was confined to the house with illness and not allowed to go out, he came to the window and kissed his sister, Margaret, through the pane of glass, and she remembered his face and lips pressed against the window To continue his sister Hellen's recollections, she says that at a later period it was his habit to walk out alone at night , the old servant of the family would follow him, and on returning say, “ Master Bysshe only took a walk and came back ” He was full of cheerful fun, and would amuse himself with writing verses , there were some lines satirising the peculiarities of a French governess, who unfortunately happened to see them, to the consternation of her pupils On another occasion he wrote a play with his eldest sister, and sent it to Matthews, but it was re-

¹ In 1806

Childhood

turned as unsuitable for acting¹ These early effusions have perished but the following lines which are probably Shelley's earliest efforts in verse that have been preserved are worth quoting The date given to them in Mr Thomas Hutchinson's edition of Shelley's poems is 1800 The sheet upon which they were copied by his sister is headed with the drawing of a tabby cat

'A cat in distress
Nothing more nor less
Good folks I must faithfully tell ye
As I am a sinner,
It waits for some dinner
To stuff out its own little belly

You would not easily guess
All the modes of distress
Which torture the tenants of earth
And the various evils
Which like so many devils
Attend the poor souls from their birth

Some a living require
And others desire
An old fellow out of the way

This failure however did not deter him from his desire to become a writer for the stage for in an unpublished letter of uncertain date but probably anterior to 1811 written from Field Place to Graham Shelley promised to write some songs to be set to music by Woelff (Graham's music master) whom he desired to compose an overture for a farce He also inquired for the addresses of the manager of the Lyceum and Covent Garden Theatres as he had a farce and a tragedy that he wished to offer them The tragedy he adds is not yet finished

Shelley in England

And which is the best
I leave to be guessed,
For I cannot pretend to say

One wants society,
Another variety,
Others a tranquil life ,
Some want food,
Others, as good,
Only want a wife

But this poor little cat
Only wanted a rat,
To stuff out its own little maw ,
And it were as good
Some people had such food,
To make them *hold their jaw !* "

Shelley's memory was always remarkable, and, even when he was a small child, very retentive , as an instance, his sister says she had frequently heard from her mother that he repeated word for word Gray's verses on the " cat drowned in a tub of gold fishes " after once reading them, and he would at his father's bidding recite long Latin quotations As a young child he shared the same education as his sisters, but at six he went daily to learn Latin at the house of the Rev Mr Edwards, the Vicar of Warnham, whom Medwin describes as " of only limited intellect," and with a pronounced Welsh accent

Except for his holidays, Shelley spent very little

Childhood

time at Field Place after his tenth year when he left home for boarding school —

One direct reference only in Shelley's verse to the days of his childhood has been preserved in the fragment printed among the poems written in 1816

Dear Home thou scene of earliest hopes and joys,
The least of which wronged Memory ever makes
Bitterer than all thine unremembered tears.

The following lines in *Zastrozzi* may also be reminiscent

that ecstatic that calm and serene delight only experienced by the innocent and which is excited by a return to the place where we have spent our days of infancy "

CHAPTER III

SCHOOLDAYS

Shelley goes to school at Syon House Academy—His cousin Tom Medwin—Description of the schoolhouse—Dr Greenlaw—Sir John Rennie—Petty tyranny of the boys—Shelley's joke—His friend—His miscellaneous reading—Adam Walker—Astronomy—Dancing lessons—Leaves Syon House School

WHEN Shelley reached the age of ten, in 1802, he was sent as a boarder to Syon House Academy, Isleworth, near Brentford, presided over by the Rev Dr Greenlaw, where his cousin, Tom Medwin,¹ son of the Horsham lawyer, had preceded him. Syon Park House, as it is now called, is situated on the London Road nearly opposite the lane that leads to Syon Park. It is enclosed by high walls, but can be easily identified by the Gazebo, or summer-house, which surmounts the wall on the public road. The house is a solid structure and has been standing for more than three

¹ Concerning his relationship with Shelley, Medwin says, "Miss Michell, Sir Bysshe's first wife, was my grandfather's first cousin, and my mother bore the same degree of consanguinity to Miss Pilfold [Shelley's mother]" Although Medwin was Shelley's senior he does not appear to have protected him at school. In later life, at least, he was devoted to Shelley, and his biography of the poet was written in terms of eulogy. He, Medwin, however, failed to make the best use of his facilities for writing the life of Shelley, whom he had known as a boy, and also during the last year of his life.

Schooldays

centuries the family of its present owner Colonel Brodie Clark having held it for over a hundred years It formerly belonged to and it may have been built for Dr John King who in 1611 became Bishop of London Mrs Brodie Clark tells me that the American heroine Princess Pocahontas visited the Bishop at this house during her brief sojourn in England This must have been between 1616 and 1617 for she landed during the earlier year and died off Gravesend in the following March immediately after having embarked for Virginia The Bishop who wrote verses himself was father of a poet Henry King afterwards Bishop of Chichester The old house therefore is associated with more than one poet the pious writer of *The Evequy* and the author of *Adonais*

The precise position of Shelley's school at Brentford had latterly been lost sight of even Professor Dowden was without definite knowledge of its exact position when he wrote his *Life of Shelley* and it remained for Mr Fred Turner of the Brentford Public Library to identify it Since Shelley's time it has undergone some changes and a modern addition has been made to the building at the eastern end The schoolroom has disappeared it extended to the high road and was probably at one time the old banqueting hall The exact position of the playground can no longer be located although in the garden there remained till

Shelley in England

recently an old stump with some staples attached to it, which is supposed to have been a relic of the Bell tree, an elm so called from its having suspended from its branches the “odious bell whose din,” says Medwin, “when I think of it, yet jars in my ears”

Just inside the high walls that surrounded the house, and which gave it a somewhat gloomy appearance, there were excellent gardens and a playground, which Medwin describes as of very limited dimensions—a few hundred yards—and surrounded by four stone walls. The situation was open and healthy, and the total number of boys about fifty, ranging from eight to sixteen years of age. They were well fed and taken care of by Mrs Greenlaw and her sister, Miss Hodgkins. The eldest daughter, Miss Greenlaw, taught the youngest boys their letters, whilst the doctor and his assistants devoted themselves to the others, the subjects comprising chiefly the classics, writing, arithmetic, French, and occasionally geography and astronomy ¹

Dr Greenlaw, a Scotch clerical Doctor of Laws, was in old age “of a sanguinary complexion, he indulged in an inordinate quantity of snuff from his Scotch mull, and he usually wore his spectacles above his bushy eyebrows. Though not wanting in good qualities he possessed a choleric and capricious temper, which was

¹ Rennie

Schooldays

influenced by the daily occurrences of a domestic life not the most harmonious and of which his face was the barometer and his hand the index.¹

He was a tolerable Greek and Latin scholar but he seems to have had his limitations and prejudices, and he did not engender in Shelley his love of the classics.

He acquired his knowledge of them as it were intuitively and seemingly without study for during school hours he was wont to gaze at the passing clouds all that could be seen from the lofty windows which his desk fronted or watch the swallows as they flitted past with longing for their wings or would scrawl in his school books—a habit he always continued—rude drawings of pines and cedars in memory of those on the lawn of his native home. On these occasions our master would sometimes peep over his shoulder and greet his ears with no pleasing salutation. When Dr Greenlaw was in one of his good humours he indulged in what he termed *facetiae* and to Shelley's disgust but to the amusement of the school he would on such occasions relate a coarse joke.

Syon House Academy evidently did not make such

¹ Cf. Medwin. Hogg says that in walking to Bishopsgate from London with Shelley he pointed out to me more than once a gloomy brick house as being this school. He spoke of the master Dr Greenlaw not without respect saying he was a hard headed Scotchman and a man of rather liberal opinions. Of this period of his life he never gave me an account.

² Medwin

Shelley in England

a favourable impression on Medwin as on his school-fellow, Sir John Rennie, the engineer, who included a brief account of his schooldays in his autobiography. It was not a "Do-the-boys Hall," but the unappetising food provided at Syon House school was prepared and distributed with true Scotch frugality to the pupils, who were mostly the sons of London shopkeepers of rude habits and coarse manners. To Shelley the school was a perfect hell, where he "passed as a strange unsociable being",¹ his slender figure, girlish gestures, and his lack of interest in the games of the other boys singled him out as "fair sport" or a butt. Although fagging as it is practised at our large public schools was not in vogue at Dr Greenlaw's academy, there was enough petty tyranny to render Shelley's life at times unbearable. When maddened by the persecution of his schoolfellows he would give way to furious paroxysms of rage, and seize any object at hand, even a small boy, to hurl at his tormentors. He knew, however, how to play a joke on his schoolfellows, as the following story shows. A boy² in a class below Shelley was one day trying to compose a Latin nonsense verse to be written down for the scanning, when Shelley came along and asked what he was doing. On being

¹ Medwin

² The late Mr W C Gellibrand, who died in his ninety-third year on April 20, 1884. The story was contributed, in Mr Gellibrand's words, to the *Athenæum* for May 3, 1884, by Mr Augustine Birrell



D by *D Coll*

SYON PARK HOUSE ISLEWORTH
FORMERLY SYON HOUSE ACADEMY

Schooldays

informed he said, 'Give me your slate and I will do it for you' The boy went off to play, and when he returned he had hardly time to look at what Shelley had written on the slate much less copy it afresh so he handed it to the master who called him up and asked if he had written the verse The lad foolishly replied 'yes' whereupon he was asked to construe it and to his horror he found that it ran

'Hos ego versiculos scripsi sed non ego feci'

The boy was duly flogged but he afterwards had the satisfaction of giving Shelley a pommelling The narrator of this story said that Shelley looked like a girl in boy's clothes and that he fought with open hands He used to roll on the floor when flogged not from the pain but from a sense of indignity

Shelley was however capable of great warmth of friendship for those whom he liked and if treated with kindness he was very amiable noble high spirited and generous ¹ Among his papers after his death was found the following fragment which is said to have been written not long before that event It will find an appropriate place here when speaking of the friendship that he formed at Syon House to which period of his schooldays it probably relates

Shelley in England

as he mentions that his age was about eleven or twelve

“I once had a friend whom an inextricable multitude of circumstances has forced me to treat with apparent neglect To him I dedicate this essay If he finds my own words condemn me, will he not forgive ?

“The nature of love and friendship is very little understood, and the distinctions between them ill-established Thus latter feeling—at least, a profound and sentimental attachment to one of the same sex, often precedes the former It is not right to say, merely, that friendship is exempt from the smallest alloy of sensuality It rejects, with disdain, all thoughts but those of an elevated and imaginative character I remember forming an attachment of this kind at school I cannot recall to my memory the precise epoch at which this took place, but I imagine it must have been at the age of eleven or twelve

“The object of these sentiments was a boy about my own age, of a character eminently generous, brave and gentle, and the elements of human feeling seemed to have been, from his birth, genially compounded within him There was a delicacy and a simplicity in his manners, inexpressibly attractive It has never been my fortune to meet with him since my schoolboy days, but either I confound my present recollections with the delusions of past feelings, or he is now a source of honour and utility to every one around him The tones of his voice were so soft and winning, that every word pierced into my heart, and their pathos was so

Schooldays

deep that in listening to him the tears have involuntarily gushed from my eyes. Such was the being for whom I first experienced the sacred sentiments of friendship. I remember in my simplicity writing to my mother a long account of his admirable qualities and my own devoted attachment. I suppose she thought me out of my wits for she returned no answer to my letter. I remember we used to walk the whole play hours up and down by some moss covered pilings pouring out our hearts in youthful talk. We used to speak of the ladies with whom we were in love and I remember that our usual practice was to confirm each other in the everlasting fidelity in which we had bound ourselves towards them and towards each other. I recollect thinking my friend exquisitely beautiful. Every night when we parted to go to bed, we kissed each other like children, as we still were ! ”

The name of Shelley's friend is not known. he could hardly have been Medwin who was Shelley's senior by some four years although he tells us that he was the only one in the school with whom Shelley could communicate his sufferings or exchange ideas.

On holidays when the other boys were playing within the narrow limits of the playground Shelley would pace backwards and forwards with Medwin along the southern wall indulging in various vague and undefined ideas and pour out his sorrows to his friend with observations far beyond his years which according to his after ideas seem to have sprung from

Shelley in England

an ante-natal life " In other words we may suppose that he talked above the head of Tom Medwin. The familiar passage in the dedication to "The Revolt of Islam," in which Shelley recalls a resolution of his schooldays, seems to relate to Syon House rather than to Eton, where there was no grass

"Thoughts of great deeds were mine, dear Friend, when first
The clouds which wrap this world from youth did pass
I do remember well the hour which burst
My spirit's sleep a fresh May-dawn it was,
When I walked forth upon the glittering grass,
And wept, I knew not why until there rose,
From the near schoolroom, voices, that alas !
Were but one echo from a world of woes—
The harsh and grating strife of tyrants and of foes

And then I clasped my hands and looked around—
—But none was near to mock my streaming eyes,
Which poured their warm drops on the sunny ground—
So without shame, I spoke 'I will be wise,
And just, and free, and mild, if in me lies
Such power, for I grow weary to behold
The selfish and the strong still tyrannise
Without reproach or check.' I then controlled
My tears, my heart grew calm, and I was meek and bold

And from that hour did I with earnest thought
Heap knowledge from forbidden mines of lore,
Yet nothing that my tyrants knew or taught
I cared to learn, but from that secret store
Wrought linked armour for my soul, before

Schooldays

It might walk forth to war among mankind
Thus power and hope were strengthened more and more
Within me till there came upon my mind
A sense of loneliness, a thirst with which I pined¹

The set tasks of the school gave Shelley no trouble with a memory so tenacious that he never forgot a word after once having turned it up in his dictionary he soon outstripped his classmates 'He was fond of reading' says Medwin 'and he greedily devoured all the books which were brought to the school after the holidays these were mostly *blue* books - Who does not know what blue books mean? but if there should be any ignorant enough not to know what those darling volumes so designated from their covers contain be it known that they were bought for sixpence and embodied stories of haunted castles bandits, murderers and other grim personages—a most exciting and interesting sort of food for boys' minds among those of larger calibre was one which I have never seen since, but I still remember with a *recherché* delight It was *Peter Wilkins* How much Shelley wished for a winged wife and little winged cherubs of children!" The Minerva Press of Lane¹ in Leadenhall Street was

¹ Lane made a large fortune by the immense quantity of trashy novels which he sent forth from his Minerva Press I perfectly remember the splendid carriage in which he used to ride and his footmen with their cockades and gold headed canes (*Recollections of the Table talk of Samuel Rogers* 1856 p 138)

Hughes of Ludgate Street and Lee of Half Moon Street Bishopsgate

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one of the chief purveyors of this class of literature

When this stock was exhausted, Shelley would haunt the circulating library of Mr P Norbury in Brentford High Street This enterprising librarian also carried on the business of a printer and publisher of the same kind of extravagant fiction to which Shelley was addicted In an advertisement at the end of W Helme's *Evenings Rationally Employed*, which he issued in 1803, he announced his intention of publishing *The Watch Tower ; or, The Sons of Ulthona*, an historical romance in 5 vols by T J Horsley Curteis, author of *Ethelwina*, *Ancient Records*, and *The Scottish Legend*, also *Murray House*, in 3 vols, by Mrs Parsons, author of *The Mysterious Visit*, *The Peasant of Ardenne Forest*, *The Misc and his Family*, &c

The actual shop of Norbury is now occupied by the stationery and printing works of Mr Stutters, and is still much in the same condition as in Shelley's time Mr Fred Turner, who looked at a few of the books that were in circulation at the library, found nothing

were other publishers of the same class who in the early years of the nineteenth century issued sixpenny books with the following titles "*The Midnight Groan, or, the Spectre of the Chapel involving an Exposure of the Horrible Secrets of the Nocturnal Assembly a Gothic Romance*", "*Florian de Videmont, Chieftain of the Blue Castle, or, Lorenzo the Starving Prisoner, and the Saviour of Almagro and his two Daughters from the Horrors of the Red Chamber*", "*Lucretia, or, the Robbers of the Hyrcanean Forest*", "*Algehira, or, Mystic Captives a romantic Fragment*,"

Schooldays

specially indicative of Shelley's literary predilections. Apart from 'blue books' the volumes that most delighted Shelley at this time were the romances of Anne Radcliffe—*Monk*—Lewis and Charlotte Daere better known as *Rosa Matilda*—whose *Zofloya* or *The Moor* (the last named was published after Shelley left Brentford) is especially named as a favourite by Medwin upon which he is said by the same authority to have based his two novels—*Zastrozzi* and *St Irvyne, or The Rosicrucian*.

It is hardly surprising that after supping on the horrors of the *Minerva Press* he should have been subject to strange and sometimes frightful dreams. Medwin did not sleep in Shelley's dormitory, but he said that he could never forget seeing him walk into his room one moonlight night. His eyes were open and he advanced with slow steps towards the open window the sleep-walker was waked by his arm being seized by Medwin who led him back with difficulty to his bed but it was some time before his disquietude was allayed.

During Shelley's second or third year at Syon House Adam Walker, the self-taught natural philosopher, was summoned to the school to deliver a course of lectures on Astronomy to the boys in the great room of the Academy and he displayed his Orrery

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Walker had spent many years in lecturing, and among the public schools that he had visited were Eton and Winchester. The pursuits of his varied career had ranged from an ushership in a school at the age of fifteen, to that of a hermit on one of the islands on Winandermere. He had engaged in trade, and was responsible for some inventions, but lecturing was the occupation that he found most profitable¹

Astronomy proved an entirely new sphere to Shelley, and Walker's lectures opened to him a fresh field for his speculations, the idea of a plurality of worlds especially delighted him. Walker's lectures concluded with a demonstration of the powers of the solar microscope, which excited Shelley's curiosity, though not to the same extent as the lectures on Astronomy. In after years Shelley became the possessor of a microscope, which Hogg relates he pawned in London in order to alleviate the distress of an old man. He afterwards recovered this instrument

¹ Some idea of the lectures to which Shelley was an attentive listener may be gathered from Walker's publications. That they were sufficiently comprehensive is shown by the title-page of the "*Analysis of a Course of Lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy*, viz Magnetism, Mechanics, Chemistry, Pneumatics, Hydrostatics, Electricity, Fortification Optics, use of the Globes, &c., Astronomy, by A. Walker, M.D.S., Lecturer on Philosophy to His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, Eton and Winchester Colleges, &c." This little book, which contains a mass of information more or less correct, went through many editions. Of the planets he says, "Who can doubt therefore but they are inhabited, as well as all the worlds of the other system? How much too big is this idea for the human imagination!"

Schooldays

and retained it for several years long after he had parted with all the rest of his philosophical apparatus

' If Shelley abominated one task more than another says Medwin¹ ' it was a dancing lesson At a ball at Willis's rooms where among other pupils of Sala I made one an aunt of mine asked the dancing master why Bysshe was not present to which he replied in his broken English ' Mon Dieu madam what should he do here ? Master Shelley will not learn any ting—he is so *gauche* In fact he continued to abscond as often as possible from the dancing lessons and, when forced to attend suffered inexpressibly

The Rev C H Grove in recalling some recollections of his cousin says The first time I saw Bysshe was when (I was) at Harrow—I nine years old my brother George, ten We took him up at Brentford where he was at school at Dr Greenlaw's a servant of my father's taking care of us all He accompanied us to Town and spent the Easter holidays there The only circumstance I can recollect to mention in connection with that visit was that Bysshe who was some few years older than we were thought it would be good service to play carpenters and under his auspices we got carpenter's axes and cut down some of my father's young fir trees in the park

¹ Medwin, i, 28

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my father often used to remind me of that circumstance" ¹ This happened when Shelley was twelve, in 1804, the year when he left Syon House School

¹ Rev H C Grove's letter, dated February 16, 1857, to Miss Hellen Shelley, from Professor Dowden's corrected copy of Hogg's *Life of Shelley* It is noticeable that Hogg prints Ferne (Mr T Grove's Wiltshire seat) instead of Town.

CHAPTER IV

ETON

Shelley goes to Eton—Dr Goodall—Dr John Keate—Hutch Bethell—The ancient Spire—Gronow's recollections of Shelley—Shelley's friends—Charles William Luke and Walter Halliday—Mad Shelley—A Shelley bait—His storms of passion—Jagging—His fight—Chemistry and witchcraft—Dr Lind—His studies and appearance—Lord Monson's recollections

IN the year 1804 Shelley left Syon House School for Eton but for him it was hardly a change for the better. Instead of sixty schoolfellows he found himself among five hundred boys and a corresponding increase in the number of his tormentors. He signed his name on 29th July in the books of the head master Dr Goodall a courteous dignified bewigged gentleman and a scholar but one who lacked the sterner qualities of the disciplinarian.

The lower school was ruled during most of Shelley's time with firmer hands than those of the mild Dr Goodall by Dr John Keate who succeeded to the head mastership in 1809. Short and thickset Keate was little more (if more at all) than five feet in height and not very great in girth, but in this space was concentrated the pluck of ten battalions.¹ As a

¹ Kingslake's *Esthete* ch. xviii.

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young man he had been a resolute fighter, as an older man he was "tremendously fierce."¹

"The very sight of the cocked hat he always wore, placed frontways on his head like that of Napoleon, struck terror in the hearts of all offenders"² His dress was grotesque, and the flowing black gown on his squat figure suggested a little widow-woman Dr Keate's face was of a ruddy hue, his red, shaggy eyebrows were very prominent, and he had the peculiar knack of using them for the purpose of pointing out any object towards which he wished to direct attention The rest of his features, which were strikingly original, and easily lent themselves to caricature, resembled those of a bull-dog, indeed it was believed in the school that he possessed the bull-dog's power of pinning a bull with his teeth His stentorian voice he could modulate with skill, "but he also had the power of quacking like an angry duck in order to inspire respect".³ his habitual severity he judged as fitting for a head-master

Keate was the embodiment of honour and rectitude, an excellent scholar, and famed for his Latin verse On succeeding to the head-mastership on Dr Goodall's becoming Provost, he at once took steps

¹ Kinglake's *Eöthen*, ch xviii

² Gronow's *Recollections*.

³ Kinglake's *Eöthen*, ch xviii

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to introduce very severe measures in dealing with the slackness prevalent in the school during his predecessor's *régime* and for some time his efforts were met with the most determined opposition on the part of the boys. As a disciplinarian Keate showed no moderation in the use of the rod, having on one memorable occasion flogged eighty boys into submission a task that occupied him till past midnight. Despite his blustering manner, Keate is said to have been not altogether devoid of kindness and he was on the whole a popular head master but his rough and despotic character could hardly have appeared otherwise than brutal to a boy of Shelley's nature.

Shelley first lodged at the house of Mr Hexter an Eton writing master and a 'dame'. He afterwards boarded at the house of the Rev George Bethell¹ a good humoured noisy jolly looking old fellow, but regarded as the dullest man in the school. 'Botch Bethell' as they nicknamed him on account of the dreadful botcheries that he made in altering the boys' verses was remembered for his verbose sermons and

¹ This Mr Bethell was to boys famous for inefficiency as a classical teacher but he was a true gentleman a cadet of a good Yorkshire family he was known to men as a modest but steadfast vindicator of the statutable rights of scholars of Eton College against the iniquitous usurpations of the Provost and Fellows. He was a just and also a courteous man. (William Cory in *The Notebook of the Shelley Society* 1888 p 15 Part 1.)

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his fatuous comments on the boys' tasks by the following couplet in which he was ridiculed

“ Didactic, dry, declamatory, dull,
Big, blustering Bethell bellows like a bull ”

On entering this school, says Dowden, Shelley was placed in the upper fourth form, in 1805 he was in the remove, in 1808 in the upper fifth, and when leaving, in 1810, in the sixth form

Bethell's house, which was taken down in 1863, “ was,” says William Cory,¹ “ next door to a shop well known fifty years back—a shop kept by some elderly women called Spire or Spires. At the end of the village of Eton in which the schoolboys lived, there was at the same time a shop kept by people named Towers. I dare say Shelley may, like me, have heard Gray's line quoted thus. ‘ Ye ancient Spires, ye distant Towers ’ ” Shelley did not forget Spires, if Gronow is to be trusted, for in his Recollections, when describing how he came across Shelley for the last time on the seashore at Genoa in 1822, “ the poet was making a true poet's meal of bread and fruit. He at once recognised me, jumped up, and appearing greatly delighted, exclaimed, ‘ Here you see me at my old Eton habits, but instead of the green fields for a couch I have the shores of the Mediterranean

¹ *The Notebook of the Shelley Society*, 1888, p. 15, Part 1

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It is very grand and very romantic I only wish I had some of the excellent brown bread and butter we used to get at Spire's but I was never very fastidious in my diet' Then he continued in a wild and eccentric manner Gronow do you remember the beautiful Martha the Hebe of Spire's? She was the loveliest girl I ever saw and I loved her to distraction '1 While Gronow sat by Shelley's side

he asked many questions about myself and many of our schoolfellows which shows that he did remember his friends at Eton, although the contrary has been asserted

The practice at Eton of making indiscriminate presents of handsomely bound books among classmates on leaving the school was in vogue in Shelley's time and he possessed at Oxford an unusual number of such books Greek and Latin classics each inscribed with the name of the donor Hogg says that these volumes were a proof of Shelley's popularity with his schoolfellows and many of them 'who were at Oxford frequently called at his rooms but he did not encourage their visits as they interrupted his favourite studies

Although Shelley did not care to share the amuse

¹ *Reminiscences and Recollections of Captain Gronow* vol 1 p 155 (1900)

² *Hogg's Life of Shelley* vol 1 p 124

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ments of other boys, preferring to wander alone, generally with a book, for the hour together, he made some close friends. He could not, however, have been a popular boy, for according to Mrs Shelley "he was disliked by the masters, and hated by his superiors in age, but he was adored by his equals. He was all passion—passionate in his resistance to injury, passionate in his love. Kindness could win his own soul, and the idea of self never for a moment tarnished the purity of his sentiments."

These friendships were in after years remembered both by himself and by his companions. Edward Leslie, afterwards Rector of Dromore, possessed several volumes presented to him at Eton, each inscribed with his name "from his affectionate friend, Percy Bysshe Shelley." Mr Leslie's son, the Rev Robert J Leslie of Holbeach, informed Professor Dowden¹ that he supposed his father was "Shelley's best and dearest friend, the one that appreciated his genius more than any other boy except Charles Ball. They were in the same house, as were also Ball and Lord Howe." Shelley and Leslie were generally credited with putting a bull-dog into Dr. Keate's desk, but another boy afterwards assumed the sole responsibility for this prank. Mr Leslie related that Shelley used to compose poems and dramas, which

¹ Dowden's *Life of Shelley*, vol. 1 p. 26

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the boys with a display of mock interest would invite him to rehearse and that when he thought his audience was enraptured they would burst into laughter. The trick was frequently played on him but he could easily be persuaded to incur its repetition. Leshe often tried to console him and his son heard him speak with tears of 'Poor dear Shelley' it was no wonder that he went wrong. Andrew Amos who became an eminent lawyer and a county court judge boarded at Hexters with Shelley. he remembered composing plays with him and acting them before the lower boys.

Charles William Packe was a pupil of Bethells and in 1808 sat near Shelley in school. He was afterwards M P for South Leicestershire and Colonel of the Leicestershire Yeomanry. Among other recollections of his friend he says 'Shelley was too peculiar in his genius and his habits to be the hare with many friends' but the few who knew him loved him and if I may judge from myself, remember with affectionate regret that his schooldays were more adventurous than happy.

Gronow tells us that Shelley was his friend and associate at Eton but he may not have known him very intimately as he was Shelley's junior by two years. He describes him however as a 'boy of studious and meditative habits averse to all games

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and sports, and a great reader of novels and romances. He was a thin, slight lad, with remarkably lustrous eyes, fine hair, and a very peculiar shrill voice and laugh " Gronow adds that Shelley's " most intimate friend at Eton was a boy named Price, who was considered one of the best classical scholars amongst us "

One of Shelley's closest friends was Walter S Halliday, who embodied some recollections of him in a charming letter printed by Hogg¹ He said that he loved Shelley for his kindness and affectionate ways, and added that " he was not made to endure the rough and boisterous pastime at Eton, and his shy gentle nature was glad to escape far away to muse over strange fancies, for his mind was reflective and teeming with deep thought " Shelley's love of nature was intense, and not caring for the games of the school he was glad of any opportunity to escape and wander for hours with Halliday about Clewer, Frogmore, the Park at Windsor, Stoke Park, and Gray's churchyard, while he related " his marvellous stories of fairyland, of apparitions, spirits, and haunted ground, and his speculations were then (for his mind was far more developed than mine) of the world beyond the grave "

Halliday, however, was mistaken when he stated

¹ Hogg's *Life of Shelley*, vol 1 p 43

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that his friend never went out in a boat on the river Shelley informed Medwin that the greatest delight he experienced at Eton was the boating And Medwin himself had been present at a regatta in 1809 at Eton when Shelley assisted and seemed to enjoy it But his love of the Thames began at Brentford where he more than once played the truant with Medwin and rowed to Kew and once to Richmond to see Mrs Jordan in *The Country Girl* at the theatre there the first he ever visited Allowances being made for the fact that one's schooldays are generally more agreeable when viewed in retrospect he recalled with evident pleasure in 1821 the summer evenings at Eton spent on the river in his poem *The Boat on the Serchio*

Those bottles of warm tea—
(Give me some straw)—must be stowed tenderly
Such as we used in summer after six
To cram in great coat pockets and to mix
Hard eggs and radishes and rolls at Eton
And couched on stolen hay in those green harbours
Farmers call gaps and we school boys called arbours
Would feast till eight

Mr Henry Wagner whose father was at Eton and of Shelley's age told me he had heard him relate that the nickname *Mad Shelley* was generally known in the school It was perhaps owing to this epithet that he and other boys avoided Shelley At Eton he was also called *Shelley the atheist* which according

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to Hogg, was used in the classical sense meaning Antitheist, an opposer and contemner of the gods, and not one who denies their existence "At Eton," he says, "but at no other school that I ever heard of, they had the name and office of atheist, but this usually was not full, it demanded extraordinary daring to attain to it, it was commonly in commission, as it were, and the youths of the greatest hardihood might be considered as boys commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Atheist" ¹

Shelley's eccentric habits, the odd carelessness of his dress, and his indifference to the school sports, made him a conspicuous figure, and the boys soon found out that much amusement could be devised by goading him into a rage Professor Dowden has described what was known as a Shelley-bait, in which the unfortunate lad was surrounded by a jeering throng of boys, and reduced to a state of frenzy by his tormentors, who would disperse when his pent-up passion burst in all its fury

Sir John Taylor Coleridge was of Shelley's standing at Eton he afterwards became a judge, and was at one time a contributor to, and later editor of, the *Quarterly Review*, in which periodical he "cut up" Shelley's "Revolt of Islam" in the most merciless manner "Coleridge," relates William Cory, "used to say that

¹ *Life of Shelley*, vol 1 p 137

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he never joined in teasing Shelley but he did not know anyone else that did not tease him there used to be a Shelley bait every day about noon the boys hunted Shelley up the street he was known for not wearing strings to his shoes I believe that boys suffer more from mortification than from rough usage and that a life may be poisoned by insulting notice taken of deficiencies of dress I consider the shoe strings in this case not to have been trifles ¹ Another writer whose recollections of Sir John Coleridge deserve attention gives a different version of his attitude to Shelley Mr Stephen Coleridge says ' My two grandfathers were at Eton together and I have at different times heard each of them speak of Shelley who was there at the same time My grandfather the Judge like other boys had not much sympathy for the eccentricities of genius at that age and I am afraid he did not exert himself to prevent a diversion known as a Shelley hunt in which the poet was chivied about and any handy missile thrown at him My other grandfather my mother's father Mr Seymour once told me that he was some way from Eton up the river one day and came upon Shelley who had been out duck spearing but that the poet had somehow speared his own leg instead of any duck and was lying quite helpless unable to walk

¹ *The Shelley Notebook* p 14 (Shelley Society's publications)

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Whereupon my grandfather hoisted him upon his back and carried him all the way back to school " ¹

Shelley used to relate the story of stabbing an upper boy with a fork, "as an almost involuntary act, done on the spur of anguish, and he made the stab as the boy was going out of the room " ² But Shelley's storms of passion, though dangerous while they lasted, were invariably due to some aggravation, and they were not of long duration. He would frequently show his sympathy for the younger boys by assisting a dullard with his tasks. Shelley was the very opposite to a bully, he was hot-tempered but far from ill-tempered, his friends all testified to his generous and open-hearted nature.

It has been stated that Shelley stood alone at Eton, but, when he attempted the bold task of resisting the fagging system, it is hardly to be wondered at. From the boys in the upper forms, who were fagmasters, he naturally got no support, and his own classmates and juniors were not courageous enough to join him. There seems to be a considerable doubt if he really tried to abolish fagging, but he rebelled single-handed at what he regarded as a tyranny and refused to obey his fagmaster ³. To defy such a deeply rooted custom

¹ From *Memories*, by the Hon Stephen Coleridge (John Lane, 1913.)

² Mrs Shelley to Leigh Hunt, April 8, 1825

³ Henry Matthews, who afterwards became a judge, was author of *The Diary of an Invalid*—a popular book of travel in its day

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of the school denoted considerable pluck. Halliday said when perhaps bearing in mind Shelley's attitude towards fagging that he had great moral courage and feared nothing but what was base and low.

It is not perhaps possible to place reliance on all of the stories told of Shelley's schooldays though many of them seem to be well attested.

Much as the poet disliked fighting for fighting's sake Captain Gronow stated in his *Recollections* that Shelley once engaged in a fight at Eton against Sir Thomas Styles. Gronow could not recollect what cause induced Shelley to enter the ring but he witnessed the contest and stated that the combatants met in the playing fields and that a ring was formed with seconds and bottle holders. The tall lank figure of the poet towered above the thickset little baronet and Shelley's confidence increased after a successful round. He then spouted in Greek one of the defiant addresses usual with Homer's heroes when about to commence single combat to the no small amusement of the boys whereupon Styles went to work in earnest and soon knocked out his opponent who in defiance of the rules broke through the ring and escaped.

Shelley did not venture again to enter the pugilistic arena but passed much of his leisure in the study

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of the occult sciences, natural philosophy, and chemistry, his pocket money was spent on books "relative to these pursuits, on chemical apparatus and materials," and many of the books treated of magic and witchcraft. In his second letter to Godwin, in which he related the chief events of his boyhood, he said "Ancient books of Chemistry and magic were perused with an enthusiasm of wonder, almost amounting to belief. My sentiments were unrestrained by anything within me, external impediments were numerous and strongly applied, their effect was merely temporary." He would watch the livelong nights for ghosts, and while at home he had endeavoured to obtain admission to the vaults of Warnham Church, where he might sit all night in expectation of seeing one. At Eton he consulted books on the grim subject of raising a ghost, and once at midnight he stole from the Dame's house with the object of putting his knowledge to the test. He took with him a skull—the prescribed implement for an incantation—and crossing a field, among the long grass, was alarmed to hear it rustle as if the evil one followed behind him. His fears somewhat abated when he had passed over the field, as he could no longer hear the pursuer. At length he reached a small stream, when he stood with one foot on either side of it, and repeated an incantation and drank thrice from the skull, but no ghost appeared,

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probably because he had failed to repeat the correct formula of the charm¹

He recalled these pursuits in his Hymn to Intellectual Beauty in the often quoted lines

While yet a boy I sought for ghosts and sped
Through many a listening chamber cave and ruin
And starlight wood with fearful steps pursuing
Hopes of high talk with the departed dead
I called on poisonous names with which our youth is fed
I was not heard I saw them not
When musing deeply on the lot
Of life at that sweet time when winds are wooing
All vital things that wake to bring
News of birds and blossoming
Sudden thy shadow fell on me
I shrieked and clasped my hands in ecstasy
I vowed that I would dedicate my powers
To thee and thine have I not kept the vow?
With beating heart and streaming eyes even now
I call the phantoms of a thousand hours
Each from his voiceless grave

The study of physical science apparently was discouraged at Eton in Shelley's days for in a note that Timothy Shelley wrote to Medwin senior (from whom Shelley had borrowed a volume) he said I have returned the book on chemistry as it is a forbidden thing at Eton.² Chemical experiments were certainly pro-

¹ Hogg's *Life of Shelley* vol. 1 pp 33-34.

² Miss Hellen Shelley recollected seeing her brother's face and hands burned and blackened by some badly managed experiment probably at Eton with *chloroform*. The white frocks of his sisters in some mysterious manner were found stained with black marks the result, no doubt of frequent visits to the Hall Chamber. Bysshe's room at Field Place

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hibited in the boys' rooms, but one day when Shelley was engaged in the production of "a blue flame" his tutor, Bethell, caught him in the act and angrily asked him what he was doing. Shelley jocularly replied that he was "raising the devil." Mr Bethell seized hold of a mysterious implement on the table, and in an instant was thrown against the wall, having grasped a highly charged electrical machine. Of course, the young experimentalist paid dearly for this unfortunate occurrence."¹ William Cory, who gives a variation of this legend in his paper "Shelley at Eton," tells us that Shelley was "amusing his companions with a frictional electric machine in his own room, and charging the door handle failed in his dutiful attempt to warn his tutor, Mr Bethell, against opening the door when he came to stop the noise caused by the electric shocks."²

On one occasion he is said to have set fire to a tree by means of gunpowder and a burning-glass,³ and at

¹ *Shelley Memorials*, p 6

² "Shelley at Eton," *Shelley Society's Notebook*, 1886, Pt 1 p 14. Medwin mentions that Bysshe, who as a boy was fond of flying kites at Field Place, made an electrical one, borrowing the idea from Franklin, with the object of drawing lightning from the clouds.

³ William Cory (*ibid*) states that one day when he was in South Meadow—a field adjoining the well-known Brocas, and used in winter for football and hurdle races by the Eton boys—with Mr Edward Coleridge (brother of Sir John Coleridge), he pointed out to him a wretched pollard willow with only half a trunk and black inside, and said, "This is the tree that Shelley blew up with gunpowder—that was his last bit of naughtiness at school."

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another time he employed a travelling tinker to assist him in constructing a steam engine which however burst and very nearly blew him and the unfortunate Mr Bethell and his family into the air Besides Shelley's love of experimental chemistry and electricity his interest in astronomy was again aroused by Adam Walker who came on a lecturing visit to Eton Shelley once more turned his eyes to the heavens and in the words of one of his schoolfellows night was his jubilee ¹

But he probably received some solid assistance and encouragement in his studies in chemistry and astronomy and his Eton days were brightened by the friendship of Dr James Lind When Shelley met him this amiable old man was well past seventy he had been settled for many years at Windsor as physician to the Royal household and was devoted to the King ² He was an eccentric character—as thin as a lath He had travelled in China the Hebrides and Iceland and possessed a collection of Indian and other curiosities picked up on his travels Miss Burney described him in her diary of 1785 as too fond of tricks conundrums and queer things to maintain the confidence

¹ Doctden 1 p 9

² Hogg believed that Shelley had learnt to curse the King and his father from Dr Lind but he appears to have been convinced subsequently that Shelley had hoaxed him and that he intended to expunge the statement from his book in a second edition See Doctden 1 pp 32-33

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of his patients, but Shelley held him in the highest estimation and never mentioned his name except in terms of the tenderest respect. He regarded him as "exactly what an old man should be, free, calm-spirited, full of benevolence and even of youthful ardour, his eyes seemed to burn with supernatural spirit beneath his brow, shaded by his venerable locks, he was tall, vigorous and healthy in his body, tempered, as it had ever been, by his amiable mind. I owe to that man far, ah! far more than I owe to my father, he loved me, and I shall never forget our long talks where he breathed the spirit of the kindest tolerance and the finest wisdom."

Shelley used to relate how, when he was recovering from a severe fever at Field Place during the holidays, he was warned by a servant that his father had been overheard while consulting about sending him to a private madhouse¹. Being master of three pounds, with the servants' help he contrived to send for Dr Lind. "He came," says Shelley, "and I shall never forget his manner on that occasion. His profession gave him authority, his love for me ardour. He dared my father to execute his purpose, and his menaces had the desired effect." The story was told by Mrs Shelley, in what she declared were Shelley's

¹ This story is related by Medwin in his *Life of Shelley*, also in *The Diary of Polidori*, though not so circumstantially.

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own words spoken to her on the night that decided her destiny and Hogg had heard him speak more than once of the incident but he believed that Shelley's recollections were those of a person not quite recovered from a fever which attacked his brain and still disturbed by the horrors of the disease Dr Lind died at the age of seventy six in 1812 the year after Shelley left Oxford but he never forgot his old friend and had him in his mind when he described in *The Revolt of Islam* the hermit who released Laon from prison in Cantos iii and iv as he believed he had been delivered by Dr Lind from pressing danger during his illness at Field Place

He was an old man stately and beautiful
he says who

 had spent his livelong age
In converse with the dead who leave the stamp
Of ever burning thoughts on many a page
When they are gone into the senseless damp
Of graves —his spirit thus became a lamp
Of splendour like to those on which it fed
Through peopled haunts the City and the Camp
Deep thirst for knowledge had his footsteps led
And all the ways of men among mankind he read

—and Dr Lind was also the original of Zonoras
the aged instructor of Prince Athanase his

 one beloved friend
An old old man with hair of silver white
And lips where heavenly smiles would hang and blend
With his wise words and eyes whose arrowy light

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Shone like the reflex of a thousand minds
He was the last whom superstition's blight
Had spared in Greece "

Shelley's studies at Eton were chiefly of his own choosing. His friend Halliday tells us that "his lessons were child's play to him, and his powers of versification remarkable, although the making of Latin verse was not to his liking. He read Lucretius and was fascinated, and he translated several books of Pliny's *Natural History*, including the chapter "De Deo," which, according to Medwin, was "the first germ of his ideas respecting the Nature of God." It was his intention to make a complete version of this book, but he stopped short at the chapter on Astronomy, on learning from Dr. Lind that it baffled the best of scholars. In his second letter to Godwin, he told him that at Eton he made his first acquaintance with *Political Justice*. This book, which was destined to work such a potent influence on his life and character, he borrowed from Dr. Lind.¹

Shelley's appearance, however, was not always one of unkempt carelessness, as some of the descriptions given above would lead us to suppose. We get a glimpse of him during these schooldays as he appeared to the eyes of his sister Hellen, who in her recollections of her brother says, that "he ordered clothes to his

¹ Hogg's *Life of Shelley*, ch. xvi

Eton

own fancy at Eton and the beautifully fitting silk pantaloons as he stood as almost all men and boys do with their coat tails near the fire excited my silent though excessive admiration. And when he took part in the Montem processions of the years 1805 and 1809 he appeared in the former year as pole bearer in the uniform of a midshipman with a blue jacket white trousers silk stockings and pumps on the second occasion he walked as full corporal attended by his pole bearers.

The following interesting reference to Shelley was written down in 1848 by Lord Monson.¹ Among the more celebrated names at Eton in my time I have a slight recollection of Shelley. He was captain of the Oppidans I think in 1810—a fair lad who I think boarded at Bethell's. I remember many odd freaks recorded of him. He bought a large brass cannon at an auction at Windsor and harnessed many lower boys to draw it down into college. It was captured I think by one of the tutors and kept till the holidays at Hexter's.

¹ Reminiscences of Eton by William John sixth Lord Monson *Nineteenth Century* April 1909. It is hardly necessary to say that there is nothing to support Lord Monson's supposition that Shelley was captain of the Oppidans.

CHAPTER V

FIRST ATTEMPTS AT AUTHORSHIP

Shelley as a sportsman—Literary projects—*The School of Terror*—"The Wandering Jew"—Correspondence with Walter Scott—Gessner—The publication of *Zastrozzi*—Pouching the reviewers—*St Irvyne*—Shelley's ignorance of German—The Newspaper Editor's reminiscences—Shelley goes up to Oxford—The Easter vacation—Harriet Grove—*Original Poetry by Victor and Cazire*

SHELLEY returned to Field Place in the December of 1809 for his Christmas vacation, and his companion was Medwin, who recalled in after years the walks that they took together on this occasion. Sir Timothy was a keen sportsman, and Shelley, who was himself an excellent shot, often carried a gun on his shoulder in his father's preserves. Medwin tells us an amazing story of Shelley "killing, at three successive shots, three snipe at the tail of the pond in front of Field Place." But the country gentleman's pleasure in killing was not deeply rooted in Shelley, and, long before he found it abhorrent,¹ he was content to let the game-

¹ Cf. "Alastor," lines 13-17

"If no bright bird, insect or gentle beast
I consciously have injured, but still loved
And cherished these my kindred, then forgive
This boast, beloved brethren, and withdraw
No portion of your wonted favour now!"

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keeper slay the birds (which were afterwards taken to his mother) while he sat immersed in his book. The statement however that Shelley was a good shot was undoubtedly true and he was later fond of pistol practice and indulged in it as one of his favourite amusements at Oxford Marlow and in Italy.

Shelley's mind in the winter of 1809-10 was full of literary projects and he had as Medwin tells us ' begun to have a longing for authorship—a dim presentiment of his future fame—an ambition of making a name in the world'.¹ His earliest efforts proclaimed him a romanticist. The Gothic movement which in the latter part of the eighteenth century had grown out of Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* Clara Reeve's *Old English Baron* the novels of Mrs Radcliffe the metrical *Tales of Wonder* and other horrors of Monk Lewis with a host of even more worthless imitations still found favour with the reading public when Shelley was beginning to take an interest in reading. He was attracted by the work of *The School of Terror* although its popularity was on the wane for those who were tired of Gothic horrors were finding enjoyment in the gentle satire of Miss Austen² and Miss Edgeworth and the romantic narrative poems of Walter Scott.

Medwin vol 1 p 53

¹ Miss Austen ridicules the taste of the day for *The School of Terror* in *Northanger Abbey* ch. iv.

When you have finished *Udolpho* we will read *The Italian* together

Shelley in England

During Shelley's schooldays we have seen that he "was haunted with a possession of the wildest and most extravagant romances," and that much of his time was spent in wandering alone with the companionship of a book "From a reader," he says, "I became a writer of romances, before the age of seventeen I had published two, *St Irvyne* and *Zastrozzi*"¹ Medwin tells us that he wrote with him in the winter of 1809-10, in alternate chapters, the commencement of a wild, extraordinary romance, in which a hideous witch played a part About the same time, Shelley projected and Medwin joined him in an ambitious literary undertaking, no less than a long narrative poem in the metre of Scott's popular metrical romances on the subject of "The Wandering Jew" Shelley or Medwin had "picked up, dirty and torn, in Lincoln's Inn Fields" a fragment of a translation of Schubart's poem "The Wandering Jew," a portion of the *German*

and I have made out a list of ten or twelve more of the same kind for you"

"Have you, indeed? How glad I am! What are they all?"

"I will read you their names directly, here they are in my pocket-book *Castle of Wolfenbach*, *Clermont*, *Mysterious Warnings*, *Necromancer of the Black Forest*, *Midnight Bell*, *Orphan of the Rhine*, and *Horrid Mysteries* These will last us some time"

"Yes, pretty well, but are they all horrid? Are you sure they are all horrid?"

"Yes, quite sure"

¹ Shelley's second letter to Godwin, January 10, 1812 The statement as to his age is incorrect, as he was apparently between seventeen and eighteen when he wrote *Zastrozzi*

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Museum 1802 vol 3 and this story suggested the idea for the poem Medwin whose account of the transaction is far from convincing claimed to have written almost entirely himself the first three cantos¹ save a few additions and alterations The vision in the third canto he confessed to have taken from Lewis's Monk and with equal candour he declared the Crucifixion scene to be a plagiarism from a volume of Cambridge prize poems² After seven or eight cantos were perpetrated Shelley sent them to Campbell for his opinions on their merits with a view to publication The author of *The Pleasures of Hope* returned the MS with the remark that there were only two good lines in it namely

It seemed as if some angel's sigh
Had breathed the plaintive symphony

'This criticism gave the death blow to our hopes of immortality'³ He does not tell us and perhaps he was not aware that Shelley sent the poem to the publishers of Walter Scott's poems Ballantyne & Co who replied on September 24 1810 from Edinburgh

'We are extremely sorry at length after the most mature deliberation to be under the necessity of

¹ In *The Shelley Papers* 1833 Medwin says that he was responsible for the first four cantos and that six or seven cantos were written

² Probably the Seatonian poem for 1765 on the Crucifixion by Thomas Zouch As Mr Dobell points out the Crucifixion scene in *The Wandering Jew* as we have it shows no evidence of plagiarism

Medwin vol 1 p 53

Shelley in England

declining the honour of being the publishers of the present poem, not that we doubt its success, but that it is perhaps better suited to the character and liberal feelings of the English than the bigoted spirit which yet pervades many cultivated minds in this country. Even Walter Scott is assailed on all hands, at present, by our Scotch spiritual and evangelical magazines and instructors, for having promulgated atheistical doctrines in 'The Lady of the Lake'."

It would be difficult to detect anything of a heterodox character in such a poem as "The Lady of the Lake," which was at that time selling in thousands, and for many years was a favourite prize in girls' schools, John Ballantyne, therefore, in declining to publish Shelley's poem, probably invented an excuse at the expense of his friend, Walter Scott.

Shelley made another attempt to find a publisher for "The Wandering Jew," and offered it in a letter dated September 28, 1810, to John Joseph Stockdale,¹ a publisher in Pall Mall, who made a business of issuing from his shop in Pall Mall volumes of minor poetry and romances, often, no doubt, at the authors' risk. There is nothing in Shelley's published letters to show what was Stockdale's decision, nor is there any evidence of its having appeared in book form. Four cantos of the poem, however, were printed in *The Edinburgh Literary Journal* for the year 1829, with

¹ John Stockdale

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Shelley's preface dated January 1811 and his dedication To Sir Francis Burdett Bart M P in consideration of the active virtues by which both his public and private life is so eminently distinguished the following poem is inscribed by the author The editor of this periodical states that when Shelley visited Edinburgh in 1811 he brought the poem with him and that the MS had since been in the custody of a literary gentleman of that town to whom it was offered for publication The MS is more likely to have been that which he offered in 1810 (with the preface post dated) in his letter quoted above to Ballantyne who requested Shelley to advise him how to return it The four cantos of *The Wandering Jew* were also published in *Fraser's Magazine* three years after its appearance in *The Edinburgh Literary Journal* in 1831 as an unpublished poem with the sanction of Mrs Shelley This version of the poem which varies considerably from that published in *The Edinburgh Literary Journal* contains neither the dedication nor the preface and must have been printed from another—possibly an earlier—copy and perhaps the identical MS which Shelley sent to Stockdale The poem on its appearance in *Fraser's Magazine* was introduced by a long article from the pen of either W Maginn or Father Mahoney under the initials O Y of the pseudonym Oliver Yorke Medwin printed in his *Life of Shelley*

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some portions of a preface which he tells us Shelley intended for the poem, but no portion of these extracts resembles the preface printed in *The Edinburgh Literary Journal*

“The Wandering Jew” is excluded from more important editions of Shelley’s poetical works, owing to Medwin’s claim to have participated in its composition. I agree with Mr Dobell¹ in the opinion that Shelley wrote, if not the whole of the poem as we now have it, considerably more than Medwin. It is more animated than Medwin’s acknowledged poems, and it was evidently composed with the same enthusiasm which enabled Shelley to produce his two novels. The poem, in fact, is not as Medwin says, “a sort of thing such as boys write,” but what one might have expected from the author of *Zastrozzi* and *St Irvyne*. Shelley, moreover, acknowledged the poem as his, without reference to his alleged coadjutor, in offering it to Stockdale, and apparently he sent it as his own work to the firm of Ballantyne. In the preface as printed in *The Edinburgh Literary Journal* he uses the first-person singular, and the dedication quoted above is written in the third person and he uses the word “author.” Shelley also quoted passages

¹ Mr Bertram Dobell, who was the first to call attention to the publication of “The Wandering Jew” in *The Edinburgh Literary Journal*, edited an excellent edition of the poem, which was issued by the Shelley Society in 1887

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from *The Wandering Jew* at the heads of two chapters of *St Irvyne*. At the time of writing his *Life of Shelley* Medwin tells us he had retained the MS. of his portion of the poem and that he could have identified easily Shelley's contributions which he admits were far the better. Perhaps Medwin's chief part of the work consisted in supplying the material while Shelley held the pen or it may have been that Shelley dictated the poem to Medwin. If Shelley ceased to take an interest in the poem when he failed to induce either the Ballantynes or Stockdale to publish it he returned to the subject of *The Wandering Jew* when writing *Queen Mab* and included the fragment by Schubart among the notes. In 1823 ten years after *Queen Mab* was printed a poem by Medwin was published with the title of *Ahasuerus the Wanderer* but it is curious to observe that no influences of the earlier poem are discernible in this work.

Shelley was not at all diffident when he desired the opinion of anyone with whom he was personally unacquainted. He took the bold step of writing a letter without waiting for an introduction a practice which he had learnt at Eton from Dr Lind¹. In this manner he addressed some letters to Felicia Dorothea Browne (afterwards Mrs Hemans) whose juvenile poems composed at the age of twelve had appeared in 1808

¹ Hogg's *Life of Shelley* vol. 1 p. 270

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but her mother wrote to Medwin's father and begged him to use his influence with Shelley to stop the correspondence¹ We have seen that he also wrote to Campbell for an opinion of his poem on "The Wandering Jew," and later to Byron, Moore, and Godwin He probably wrote to other authors, but his letters, if they have survived, have not yet come to light He addressed at least one letter to Walter Scott, whose most interesting reply is given in the last volume of the *Diary of Frances Lady Shelley*, edited by Mr Richard Edgcumbe Shelley had asked an opinion of his poetry No date is printed with Scott's reply, but it evidently relates to an early period of Shelley's life, and probably before he went up to Oxford The following are some of the most interesting passages

"Sir,—I am honoured with your letter, which, in terms far too flattering for the proverbial vanity of an author, invites me to a task which in general I have made it a positive rule to decline, being repeated in so many shapes that, besides the risk of giving pain, it became a real encroachment upon the time which I must necessarily devote to very unpoetical labours In your case, however, sir, a blunt refusal to give an opinion asked in so polite a manner, and with so many unnecessary apologies, would be rude and unhandsome

¹ "I believe I mentioned to you the extraordinary letters with which I was once persecuted by (Mr Shelley), he, with whom 'Queen Mab hath been'" (Mrs Hemans, in a letter dated November 15, 1822) Medwin states that in later years she became an admirer of Shelley's poetry, and "in some measure" modelled her style after his"

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I have only to caution you against relying very much upon it. The friends who know me best and to whose judgment I am myself in the constant habit of trusting reckon me a very capricious and uncertain judge of poetry and I have had repeated occasion to observe that I often failed in anticipating the reception of the poetry from the public.

Scott then goes on to give some very sound advice to his correspondent and the following is characteristic.

No good man can ever be happy when he is unfit for the career of simple and commonplace duty and I need not add how many melancholy instances there are of extravagance and profligacy being resorted to under the pretence of contempt for the common rules of life. Cultivate then sir your taste for poetry and the belles lettres as an elegant and most interesting amusement but combine it with studies of a more serious and solid cast such as are most intimately connected with your prospects in future life whatever those may be. In the words of Solomon My son get knowledge (and with all thy getting get understanding. With respect to the idylls of which you have favoured me with copies they seem to me to have all the merits and most of the faults of juvenile compositions. They are fanciful tender and elegant and exhibit both command of language and luxuriance of imagination.

On the other hand they are a little too wordy and there is too much the air to make the most of every thing too many epithets and too laboured an attempt to describe minute circumstances. Upon the whole I think your specimen augurs very favourably of your talents and that you have not any cause for

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the apprehensive dejection you have experienced, and which I confess I do not think the worst symptom of your powers But I do not greatly admire your model Gessner's 'Arcadia' is too ideal for my taste and sympathy, or perhaps I am too old to relish it Besides, I dislike the measured prose, which has all the stiffness and pedantry of blank verse, without its rhythm and harmony I think you have a greater chance of making more progress by chusing a more severe and classical model But, above all, be in no hurry to publish A name in poetry is soon lost, but it is very difficult to regain it " .

It would appear that a translation of Solomon Gessner's *Idylls* had fallen in Shelley's way, and that the specimens he had sent to Scott for his criticism were acknowledged to be imitations of the Swiss writer's "Death of Abel" and other works by the mediocre Gessner which were written in a kind of poetical prose, in their day very popular, not only in Switzerland and Germany, but in French and English translations There is no work of this writer bearing the title of "Arcadia," and Scott seems to use the word in the sense of the Arcadian fancy of Gessner's *Idylls*

It was during his last term at Eton, in April 1810, that Shelley experienced for the first time the pride of authorship, for early in that month his novel *Zastrozzi* was ushered into a not very sympathetic world under the auspices of G Wilkie and J Robinson, the Pater-

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noster Row publishers About a year earlier on May 7 1809 Shelley had written from Eton to Messrs Longman & Co , stating that he intended to finish and publish a romance and offering to send them the MS Messrs Longmans appear to have replied that they would be happy to see the novel when finished They did not as we have seen publish *Zastrozzi* which it is possible though not certain is the romance referred to in this letter on the other hand it may have been some earlier work from Shelley's fertile pen Packer believed that Shelley received a sum of £40 for *Zastrozzi* and with a part of the proceeds he gave a most magnificent banquet to eight of his friends of whom Packer was one McDwin apparently relying on hearsay speaks of a 'breakfast party' and puts down the cost at £50

Zastrozzi gained for its author a new kind of notoriety at Eton and Lord Monson was among those who remembered that Shelley had written a small book in one volume in which he collected together all the horrors he could think of It was a farrago of what in those days we called pamphlets little sixpenny books of romance which the boys in want of reading used to purchase and he adds I quite forget the name of this work of Shelley's nor have I ever met with it in after life

It has been stated that Shelley had sold his novel to

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his publisher, but he showed his solicitude in its welfare in writing from Eton on April 1st to Graham, and complaining that Robinson would "take no trouble about the reviews, let everything proper be done about the venal villains," he said, "and I will settle with you when we meet at Easter. We will all go in a posse to the booksellers in Mr Grove's barouche and four—show them that we are no Grub Street garret-teers. We will not be cheated again—let us come over Jock (probably J. Robinson), for if he will not give me a devil of a price for my poem and at least £60 for my new Romance in three volumes, the dog shall not have them. Pouch the reviewers—£10 will be sufficient, I should suppose, and that I can with greatest ease repay when we meet at Passion week. Send the reviews in which *Zastrozzi* is mentioned to Field Place, the *British Review* is the hardest, let that be pouched well. My note of hand if for any larger sum is quite at your service, as it is of consequence in fiction to establish your name as high as you can in the literary lists. Let me hear how you proceed in the business of reviewing."

Although Shelley displayed in this letter a precocious knowledge of the practices of the reviewers, his efforts met with no marked results. The venal villains, if "pouched," did not respond to the bribe. The book which is quoted in the *British Critic* for April

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1810 among the publications of the month was advertised in the *Times* of the 5th and 12th of June and reviewed unfavourably in the *Critical Review* for November 1810

The new novel to which Shelley refers above was probably *St Irvyne* Messrs Longmans whom he had approached in regard to *Zastro*: had issued a romance which he much admired entitled *Zofloya or the Moor* by Mrs Byron or Charlotte Dacre better known under her pseudonym of 'Rosa Matilda and Medwin stated¹ this romance was the model both for *Zastro* and *St Irvyne* *Zofloya* is a very scarce book but Swinburne discovered a copy many years ago and described it in a curious letter which I have read through the courtesy of Mr W M Rossetti to whom it was addressed The book is not in the British Museum, M A Koszul however found it on the shelves of the Bodleian Library and he is convinced that both of Shelley's novels were derived from this weird work of fiction which confirms Medwin's statement although Medwin says elsewhere that *St Irvyne* was suggested by Godwin's novel *St Leon* which he 'wonderfully admired

It is evident that Shelley's mind was saturated with the romantic fiction of the day and he was able with

¹ *Life of Shelley* vol 1 p 30
Ibid p 69

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his tenacious memory to reproduce the artificial phrases and sentiments of these romances without exercising any creative faculty that he may have possessed of his own

It has been suggested that Shelley's two novels were translations from the German, and this supposition seems to be based on the authority of Medwin and on the statement of the unknown "Newspaper Editor"¹ whose Reminiscences of Shelley appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* for June 1841. This writer, who was, generally speaking, well-informed, was introduced by Edward Graham to Shelley during his short career at Oxford. On one occasion Shelley came up to London and spent three days with this acquaintance, who says "At this time he was without a guinea, and had even one day recourse to my own slenderly furnished purse for a small sum, which he repaid on the morrow out of a very small balance which he had received from a bookseller. On this visit to the metropolis he had brought with him the MS of three tales, one original, the other two translations from the German, which were written in a common school ciphering book. He offered them to three or four booksellers for ten pounds, but could not find a purchaser. On the evening which

¹ Mr H Buxton Forman has suggested that the "Newspaper Editor" was William Henry Merle, author of "Costança, a Poem," and some novels. But Dr Richard Garnett informed Mr W M Rossetti, apparently with assurance, that he was Gibbons Neale

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preceded my departure (from London to take up a position on a provincial journal) he insisted upon my accepting them as a token for remembrance. They were of a very wild and romantic description but full of energy. I kept them until about the year 1822 when I lent them for perusal to a friend who held an official situation in the Tower. When I applied for them at the end of some months, I had the mortification of hearing that they had been lost. Two years ago taking up by chance a paper called the *Novelist* I saw in it one of those tales as a reprint. How it obtained publication I know not. I am quite sure from the style of the MS presented to me that it was not a copy of a paper of which Shelley had preserved the original. I am equally certain that my friend did not deceive me when he informed me that he had lost the book in which it was written.

The Newspaper Editor fails to mention and seems to be unaware that two of Shelley's novels had been published during his lifetime. Both of these romances were reprinted in *The Romancist and Novelist's Library*, and he must have seen one probably the earlier of these novels. Hogg, however who knew Shelley's mind pretty thoroughly during his Oxford days emphatically denies that Shelley possessed any acquaintance with German. In the account of his first actual meeting with

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Shelley at dinner in hall at University College, their conversation practically opened with an animated discussion on the relative merits of German and Italian literature. Shelley expressed an enthusiastic admiration for the poetical and imaginative works of the former school, while Hogg supported the claims of the latter. Later in the evening Shelley confessed that he was not qualified to maintain the discussion, "for he was alike ignorant of Italian and German and had only read the works of the Germans in translations, and but little Italian poetry, even at second hand." Hogg also admitted that he knew nothing of German and but little of Italian.¹ And he is equally emphatic in another statement regarding Shelley's want of knowledge of German. In mentioning the fragment of Schubart's "Wandering Jew," to which reference has already been made, Hogg says that, "if it had been in German, Shelley could not have translated it at that time (1809-10), for he did not know a word of German. The study of that tongue—both being equally ignorant of it—we commenced together in 1815."² Medwin, however, thought Hogg was mistaken in this respect, for, when the former met Shelley at Oxford in November 1810, he showed him "a volume of tales which he had himself translated from

¹ Hogg's *Life of Shelley*, vol. 1 p. 53

² *Ibid.*, vol. 1 pp. 193-4

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the original (German) Medwin spent the whole day with him and for half an hour he perused these MSS and formed a very low idea of the literature of the country then almost unknown in England It is evident that the books that had fallen into his hands were from the pens of very inferior writers and I told him he had lost his time and labour in clothing them in his own language and that I thought he could write much better things himself It is certainly a curious fact that both the Newspaper Editor and Medwin state that they had seen a MS volume of tales of Shelley purporting to be from the German As far as I am aware there is no other statement or any evidence in his letters that Shelley had a knowledge of German at this date He was we know interested in German literature through translations—Burger's *Lenore* he had studied in the translation with Lady Diana Beauclerc's illustrations as an admirer of the works of Monk Lewis he is sure to have been acquainted with his translation of *The Bravo of Venice* and from the recently published letter of Walter Scott to Shelley mentioned above it appears he admired some work probably the *Idylls* of Solomon Gessner

Early in April 1810, Shelley went up to Oxford and on the 10th of that month he signed his name as a student in the books of University College He had

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been given what is known as the Leicester Exhibition at that College on the nomination of his uncle, John Shelley-Sidney, Esq., by inheritance from Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. After matriculating he returned to Field Place for the Easter holidays. His sister, Elizabeth, was at home, but the two younger girls, Mary and Hellen, were at Church House, Miss Fenning's school, which formerly stood on the north side of Clapham Common, near the Old Town, and directly facing Trinity Church. Shelley, in anticipation of a visit to London, and in the throes of composing his novel *St Irvyne*, addressed with the aid of Elizabeth the following mad letter¹ to their friend Graham on Easter Monday

FIELD PLACE,
Monday (April 23, 1810)

“MY DEAR GRAHAM,—At half after twelve do you be walking up and down the avenue of trees near Clapham Church, and when you see a Post Chaise stop at Mrs Fenning's door, do you advance towards it, and without observing who are inside of it speak to them—An eventful and terrific mystery hangs over it—you are to change your name from Edward Fergus Graham to William Grove—prepare therefore for something extraordinary. There is more in a cucumber than you are aware of—in two cucumbers indeed, they are now almost 2s 6d apiece—reflect well upon that!!!—All

¹ The original is in the collection of Mrs Alfred Morrison



MARGARET SHELLEY

HELLEN SHELLEY

After a portrait by the artist of S. J. H. Shelley B. 1

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this is to be done on Tuesday (April 24), neither Eishb
or myself cares what else you have to do

If Satan had never fallen
Hell had been made for thee¹

Send two Zastrozsis² to Sir J Dashwood in
Harley Street directed to F Dashwood Esq—Send
one to Ransom Morland's to be directed to Mr
Chenevix—I remain yours devotedly

P B SHELLEY

N B—The Avenue is composed of vegetable sub
stances moulded in the form of trees called by the
multitude Elm trees Elizabeth calls them so but
they all lean as if the wind had given them a box on the
ear you therefore will know them—Stalk along the
road towards them—and mind and keep yourself con
cealed as my Mother brings a blood stained stiletto
which she purposes to make you bathe in the life blood
of her enemy

Never mind the Death demons and skeletons
dripping with the putrefaction of the grave that
occasionally may blast your straining eye ball—Per
severe even though Hell and destruction should yawn
beneath your feet

Think of all this at the frightful hour of mid
night when the Hell demon leans over your sleeping
form and inspires those thoughts which eventually will
lead you to the gates of destruction

(signed by) ELIZABETH SHELLEY

¹ This couplet is quoted by Shelley from *The Revenge* as a motto for
chapter ix of *St Irvyne*

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“ DEAR GRAHAM,

ELIZA SHELLEY

The fiend of the Sussex solitudes shrieked in the wilderness at midnight—he thirsts for thy detestable gore, impious Fergus —But the day of retribution will arrive

H +D means Hell Devil

(Written by Elizabeth Shelley)

“ DEAR GRAHAM,—We really expect you to meet us at Clapham in the way described by the *Friendmonger* should you not be able to be there in time we will call at Miller’s Hotel in hopes you will be able to meet us there, but we hope to meet you at Clapham, as Vine Street is so far out of our way to L(incoln’s Inn) Fields, and we wish to see you —Your sincere Friend,

E SHELLEY.

DEATH +HELL +DESTRUCTION if you fail

“ Mind and come for we shall seriously expect your arrival, I think the trees are on the left hand of the Church —P B S ”

[Addressed outside]

“EDWARD FERGUS H+D+GRAHAM, Esq

“Vine Street, Piccadilly, London ”

The writers of this curious invitation seem to have had some misgivings whether Graham would take it seriously, hence the more rational postscripts

After the Easter vacation, Shelley returned to Eton, and on July 30th he pronounced his speech of Cicero

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against Catiline and finished his schooldays¹ He then returned home for the midsummer holidays and spent probably what was one of the happiest periods of his life It was the occasion of his second meeting with his cousin Charles Henry Grove who had just left the Navy and who recalled in a letter to Miss Hellen Shelley this visit to Field Place with his father mother and his sisters Charlotte and Harriet

Bysshe he says was more attached to my sister Harriet than I can express and I recollect well the moonlight walks we four had at Strode and also at St Irving's² the name I think of the place then the Duke of Norfolk's at Horsham That was in the year 1810 After our visit to Field Place we went to my brother John's house in Lincoln's Inn Fields where my mother Bysshe and Elizabeth joined us and a very happy month we spent Bysshe full of life and spirits and very well pleased with his successful devotion to my sister In the course of that summer to the best of my recollection after we had retired into Wiltshire a continual correspondence was going on as I believe there had also been before between Bysshe and my sister Harriet

¹ Dowden's *Life of Shelley*

² St Irving's Halls a beautiful place on the right hand side as you go from Horsham to Field Place laid out by the famous Capability Brown and full of magnificent forest trees waterfalls and rustic seats The house was Elizabethan All has been destroyed —Hogg's note

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Thomas Grove, Shelley's uncle by his marriage in 1781 with Charlotte Pilfold, sister of Shelley's mother, lived at Ferne House, Donhead, Wiltshire, near Shaftesbury. He was also the proprietor of Cwm Elan, an estate of ten thousand acres situated five miles east of Rhayader in Radnorshire. The house in a beautiful valley, praised by W. L. Bowles in his poem "Coombe Ellen," can no longer be seen, as it was destroyed towards 1894 in a water-supply scheme for Birmingham. Thomas Grove was the father of a large family of five sons and three daughters, of whom the following come into Shelley's story. Thomas, the eldest, lived at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and later occupied the Welsh estate; John was a surgeon, who on his father's death succeeded to the estates, Charles Henry was successively an officer in the Navy, a surgeon, and a clergyman. Harriet Grove was born in 1791, but, as she and Bysshe lived in counties far apart from one another, they had not met since childhood until the year 1808, when she was a girl of seventeen and he a year younger. Medwin seems to refer to 1810 in describing this meeting, but there are reasons for assigning the earlier date, as Shelley speaks of "two years of speechless bliss" in the "Melody to a scene of Former Times"—undoubtedly a serious poem addressed to Harriet Grove—with which he concludes his otherwise frivolous "Posthumous Fragments of

First Attempts at Authorship

Margaret Nicholson —published in the latter part of 1810

All those who mention her refer to the rare beauty of Harriet Grove and Medwin knew none that surpassed or could compete with her—he compared her to one of Shakespeare's women or to some Madonna of Raphael. A strong family likeness to Harriet Grove was noticeable in Bysshe

She was like him in lineaments—her eyes
Her hair her features they said were like to his
But softened all and tempered into beauty ”

And this resemblance could not have been unknown to Shelley who had her in mind when he wrote in 1820 of the love of Fiordispina and Cosimo

They were two cousins almost like to twins
Except that from the catalogue of sins
Nature had rased their love—which could not be
But by dissevering their nativity

In Romney's beautiful portrait of her mother Mrs Thomas Grove one can trace this likeness

Among the excursions taken during this happy summer was probably one to the school at Clapham Common to see his sisters a visit which Miss Hellen Shelley remembered ‘He came once she said with the elders of the family and Harriet Grove his early love was of the party how fresh and pretty she

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was¹ Her assistance was invoked to keep the wild boy quiet, for he was full of pranks, and upset the port wine in the tray cloth, for our school-mistress was hospitable, and had offered refreshments, then we all walked into the garden, and there was much ado to calm the spirits of the wild boy ”¹

During this summer Bysshe made a selection of his verses for publication, to which his sister Elizabeth contributed three or four poems This little collection, his first poetical publication, comprising a total of seventeen pieces, he put into the hands of C & W Phillips, a firm of Worthing printers, and then called on Stockdale, the Pall Mall publisher, to whom he afterwards submitted his poem “The Wandering Jew ” At Shelley’s request, to extricate him from a pecuniary difficulty with his printer, Stockdale, who consented to publish the volume, on September 17th received 1480 copies in sheets of a slender pamphlet of sixty-four pages with the title, *Original Poetry by Victor and Cazire*, Victor standing for Bysshe, and Cazire for his sister Shelley, anticipating a considerable demand for the book, had ordered an edition of 1500 copies (twenty of which were retained by the author), and it was duly advertised as “published this day, price 4s in boards,” in the *Morning Post* of September 19th The sole reference to the volume in

¹ Hogg, vol 1 p 18

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Shelley's printed correspondence besides his notes to Stockdale is to be found in an undated letter to his friend Edward Graham of whom he asks "What think you of our Poetry? What is said of it?—No flattery remember Little time however was given for the book to circulate—as not long after it was announced Stockdale happened to examine its contents and he recognised one of the poems in the volume entitled St Edmond's Eve to be the work of Matthew Gregory Lewis *The Tales of Terror*¹ in which this poem originally appeared under the title of The Black Canon of Elmham or St Edmond's Eve is a book with which one would have expected the young authors of Field Place to have been familiar and as a matter of fact Caire lifted the ballad from the volume in its entirety It is somewhat surprising that Victor did not himself detect the peculation Stockdale however was not slow in communicating his discovery to Shelley when with the ardour natural to his character he expressed the warmest resentment at the imposition practised upon him by his coadjutor and he instructed me to destroy all the copies of which about one hundred had been put into circulation by himself and the author Probably

¹ Miss Hellen Shelley says that Monk Lewis's poems had a great attraction for her brother and any tale of Spirits fends &c seemed congenial to his taste at an early age (Hogg's *Life of Shelley* vol 1 p 15)

Shelley in England

few, if any, were sold, and the majority sent out found their way to the reviewers' waste-paper baskets. But among those to whom copies were presented by the authors was Harriet Grove, who wrote in her diary on September 17, 1810 "Received the Poetry by Victor and Cazire. C. offended, and with reason. I think they have done very wrong in publishing what they have of her." C. stands for Harriet's sister Charlotte Grove, whose name may probably be filled with the first blank in the lines

"So is going to you say,
I hope that success her great efforts will pay
That will see her, be dazzled outright,
And declare he can't bear to be out of her sight,"

of the epistle "To Miss [Harriet Grove] From Miss [Elizabeth Shelley]" which is the second piece in the book.

Miss Hellen Shelley states (Hogg, 1 16) that Bysshe had some of her verses printed, but that when she saw her name on the title-page, "H-ll-n Sh-ll-y," she "felt more frightened than pleased. As soon as the publication was seen by my superiors it was bought up and destroyed." Perhaps Miss Hellen had a confused idea that she was also a contributor to the "Victor and Cazire" volume. Her age in 1810 was only eleven.

The *Original Poetry by Victor and Cazire* was noticed in two periodicals—perhaps only two—namely,

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The British Critic for April 1811 and *The Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry* for 1810 and 1811 but this last was not issued till 1814 when Shelley had long ceased to be interested in the welfare of the book. Poor as are the verses which it criticises the review that follows is no better

'There is no original poetry in this volume there is nothing in it but downright scribble. It is really annoying to see the waste of paper which is made by such persons as the putters together of these sixty four pages. There is however one consolation for the critics who are obliged to read all this sort of trash. It is that the crime of publishing is generally followed by condign punishment in the shape of bills from the stationer and printer and in the chilling tones of the bookseller when to the questions of the anxious rhymers how the book sells he answers that not more than half a dozen copies have been sold

In his introduction to the *Fitzboodle Papers*¹ Mr George Saintsbury has pointed out a curious resemblance which he observes between the *Willow Songs* of Ottilia and Shelley's song (No 12) in the 'Victor and Cazire' volume beginning 'Fierce roars the midnight storm. The late Dr Garnett to whom he pointed this out acknowledged the resemblance but thought it impossible that Thackeray could have

¹ *The Oxford Thackeray* 1908 vol iv

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seen the poem Although "the likeness of rhythm and spirit" is curious, it is more reasonable to suppose, as Dr Garnett suggests, that Thackeray recalled some romantic ballad of M G Lewis or by a writer of his period

CHAPTER VI

OXFORD

Shelley enters into residence at University College—T J Hogg—His account of Shelley's life at Oxford—His appearance and character—His enthusiasm and his discordant voice—His passion for the physical sciences—The appearance of his rooms—Rural excursions—Sailing paper boats—Posthumous fragments of Margaret Nicholson —*St Irine*

EARLY in October 1810 at the beginning of the Michaelmas term Shelley returned to Oxford and entered into residence at University College. His rooms which were situated on the first floor over the door in the corner of the quadrangle next to the Hall are now in use as the junior common room of the College. Mr Timothy Shelley who had been at the same College probably accompanied Bysshe to Oxford on this occasion but not liking the accommodation of an inn he repaired to a house in the High Street bearing the sign of a leaden horse at which he had lodged when he was at the University. It was then occupied by Mr J Slatter a plumber the son of his former landlord another son of whom was at the time going into partnership with Munday the Oxford bookseller and printer. Mr Shelley called at Munday's shop where

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he told Bysshe (who was with him) to get his supplies of books and stationery. Then turning to the bookseller he said, with parental pride, "My son here has a literary turn, he is already an author, and do pray indulge him in his printing freaks." If Mr Shelley ever remembered this advice he probably regretted it, as in a very short time he was to look upon his son's "printing freaks" as anything but to be indulged. But Bysshe's literary works, to which his father alluded, were at this time comparatively harmless. He had published his novel *Zastrozzi*, and was joint-author of the abortive collection of *Original Poetry by Victor and Cazire*, so promptly suppressed on account of his coadjutor's indiscretion, which had robbed it of any claim to originality it might otherwise have possessed. Bysshe also had with him the completed MS of his second novel *St Irvyne*, the publication of which had been undertaken by Stockdale at the author's expense, of which more hereafter.

It is not possible to write of Shelley's residence at Oxford without reference to his intimate friend and biographer, Thomas Jefferson Hogg. The eldest son of a barrister and a Tory, Hogg was born at Norton, co Durham, on May 24, 1792, and was, consequently, Shelley's senior by a little more than two months. Hogg was intelligent, fond of study and of literature, and although he did not share all his enthusiasms, he

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was devoted to Shelley and apparently his only friend at Oxford. Hogg's inimitable description of Shelley's short career at the University is practically our only source of information of the poet's life at that period and in the following account I have drawn on his biography often using his own words.

In January 1810 Hogg went to University College and at the commencement of Michaelmas term—that is at the end of October in the same year he happened one day to sit next to a freshman at dinner. It was Shelley's first appearance in hall. His figure was slight and his aspect remarkably youthful even at our table where all were very young. He seemed thoughtful and absent. He ate little and had no acquaintance with anyone. I know not how it was that we fell into conversation for such familiarity was unusual and strange to say much reserve prevailed in a society where there could not possibly be occasion for any. We have often endeavoured in vain to recollect in what manner our discourse began and especially by what transition it passed to a subject sufficiently remote from all the associations we were able to trace. The stranger had expressed an admiration for poetical and imaginative works of the German school. I dissented from his criticisms. He upheld the originality of the German writings. I asserted their want of nature. What modern literature said he will you

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compare to theirs? ' I named the Italian This roused all his impetuosity, and few, as I soon discovered, were more impetuous in argumentative conversation So eager was our dispute that, when the servants came in to clear the tables, we were not aware that we had been left alone I remarked that it was time to quit the hall, and I invited the stranger to finish the discussion at my rooms He eagerly assented He lost the thread of his discourse in the transit, and the whole of his enthusiasm in the cause of Germany, for, as soon as he arrived at my rooms, and whilst I was lighting the candles, he said calmly, and to my great surprise, that he was not qualified to maintain such a discussion, for he was alike ignorant of Italian and German, and had only read the works of the Germans in translations, and but little of Italian poetry, even at second hand For my part I confessed, with equal ingenuousness, that I knew nothing of German, and but little of Italian, that I had spoken only through others, and, like him, had hitherto seen by the glimmering light of translations "

While Shelley was thus engaged in an animated discourse on his favourite study chemistry, in which his companion felt but a slight interest, Hogg had leisure to examine, and indeed to admire the appearance of his very extraordinary guest " It was," he said, " a sum of many contradictions His figure was slight and

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fragile and yet his bones and joints were large and strong. He was tall but he stooped so much that he seemed of low stature. His clothes were expensive, and made according to the most approved mode of the day but they were tumbled rumpled unbrushed. His gestures were abrupt and sometimes violent occasionally even awkward yet more frequently gentle and graceful. His complexion was delicate and almost feminine of the purest red and white yet he was tanned and freckled by exposure to the sun having passed the autumn as he said in shooting. His features his whole face, and particularly his head were in fact unusually small yet the last appeared of a remarkable bulk for his hair was long and bushy and in fits of absence and in the agonies (if I may use the word) of anxious thought he often rubbed it fiercely with his hands or passed his fingers quickly through his locks unconsciously so that it was singularly wild and rough. In times when it was the mode to imitate stage coachmen as closely as possible in costume and when the hair was invariably cropped like that of our soldiers this eccentricity was very striking. His features were not symmetrical (the mouth perhaps excepted) yet was the effect on the whole extremely powerful. They breathed an animation a fire an enthusiasm a vivid and preternatural intelligence that I never met with in any other

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countenance Nor was the moral expression less beautiful than the intellectual, for there was a softness, a delicacy, a gentleness, and especially (though this will surprise many) that air of profound religious veneration that characterises the best works, and chiefly the frescoes (and into these they infused their whole souls) of the great masters of Florence and of Rome I recognised the very peculiar expression in these wonderful productions long afterwards, and with a satisfaction mingled with much sorrow, for it was after the decease of him in whose countenance I had first observed it "

Hogg admired the enthusiasm of, and was drawn towards, his new acquaintance, who appeared to him to possess all those intellectual qualities that he had vainly expected to meet at the University There was, however, one physical blemish, namely his voice, on account of which Hogg believed it would not be possible for him to endure his society "It was intolerably shrill, harsh and discordant, of the most cruel intonation It was perpetual and without remission, it excoiated the ear" Hazlitt and Lamb were both in later years repelled by Shelley's shrill voice Hogg, however, became accustomed to it before long and its discordance ceased to trouble him Peacock says that Shelley's voice was certainly a defect, but that it was chiefly noticeable when he spoke under

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excitement It was not only dissonant like a jarring string but he spoke in sharp fourths the most unpleasant sequence of sound that can fall on the human ear He seemed to have his voice under command when he spoke calmly or was reading and it was then good in time and tone low soft but clear distinct and expressive Peacock had heard him with pleasure read almost all Shakespeare's tragedies ¹

At a quarter to seven Shelley announced to his newly made friend that it was time for him to attend a lecture on Mineralogy from which he declared enthusiastically that he expected to derive much pleasure Although the painful voice of his companion caused Hogg to hesitate in asking him to return to tea he overcame his repugnance and Shelley gladly assenting hurried out of the room while his footsteps echoed as he ran through the silent quadrangle and afterwards along the High Street

But he came back to Hogg's rooms disillusioned and determined that the lecturer on Geology should never see him again He had stolen away before the discourse was finished for it was so stupid he said and I was so cold that my teeth chattered He

¹ Shelley's cousin Charles Grove had no unpleasant recollections of his harsh voice He was not without an ear for music Miss Hellen Shelley could remember how her brother used to sing to them he could not bear any turns or twists in music, but liked a tune played quite simply

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talked about nothing but stones, stones, stones, stones, nothing but stones, and so drily " The professor appeared to be displeased, for in trying to get out of the lecture-room without being observed, Shelley had struck his knee against a bench

After supper Shelley talked of the wonders of chemistry, and asserted that it was the only science that deserved to be studied While speaking of his own labours in this field, he suddenly started up and proposed that Hogg should go instantly with him to see his galvanic trough

Anticipating some of the modern uses of chemistry and electricity, Shelley imagined " an unfruitful region being transmuted into a land of exuberant plenty, the arid wastes of Africa refreshed by a copious supply of water " " It will," he said, " perhaps be possible at no very distant date to produce heat at will and to warm the most ungenial climates—as we now raise the temperature of our apartments to whatever degree we may deem agreeable or salutary But if this be too much to anticipate, at any rate we may expect ' to provide ourselves cheaply with a fund of heat that will supersede our costly and inconvenient fuel, and will suffice to warm our habitations, for culinary purposes and for the various demands for the mechanical arts ' " It is curious to read of his forecast of the uses of electricity and aerial navigation " What a mighty

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instrument would electricity be in the hands of him who knew how to wield it by electrical kites we may draw down the lightning from heaven The galvanic battery is a new engine what will not an extraordinary combination of troughs of colossal magnitude a well arranged system of hundreds of metallic plates effect ? The balloon has not yet received the perfection of which it is surely capable the art of navigating the air is in its first and most helpless infancy It promises prodigious facilities for locomotion and will enable us to traverse vast tracts with ease and rapidity and to explore unknown countries without difficulty Why are we still so ignorant of the interior of Africa ?—why do we not despatch intrepid aeronauts to cross it in every direction and to survey the whole peninsula in a few weeks ? The shadow of the first balloon which a vertical sun would project precisely underneath it as it glides silently over that hitherto unhappy country would virtually emancipate every slave and would annihilate slavery for ever

Of mathematics he declared he knew nothing and treated the notion of their paramount importance with contempt But Metaphysics he declared “ in a solemn tone and with a mysterious air as a noble study indeed Then rising from his chair he paced the room with prodigious strides and discoursed

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of souls, a future state, and of pre-existence Until he suddenly remarked the fire was nearly out, and the candles were glimmering in their sockets, when he hastily apologised for remaining so long " Hogg promised to visit the chemist in his laboratory, on the following day, and lighting him down stairs with the stump of a candle he soon heard him running through the quiet quadrangle in the still night " That sound became afterwards so familiar to my ear, that I still seem to hear Shelley's hasty steps "

It was nearly two o'clock before Hogg reached his friend's rooms Shelley, who took no note of time, was amazed to learn that it was so late He was cowering over the fire, his feet resting on the fender, in an attitude of dejection, the cause of which was a slight cold and the presence of a scout who had been tidying his room, and whose withdrawal as soon as Hogg made his appearance was a welcomed relief to his young master Shelley's rooms presented a very curious appearance to his visitor It was evident that they " had just been papered and painted , the carpet, curtains, and furniture were quite new, but the general air of freshness was greatly obscured by the indescribable confusion in which the various objects were mixed Books, boots, papers, shoes, philosophical instruments, clothes, pistols, linen, crockery, ammunition, and phials innumerable, with money, stockings,

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prints crucibles bags and boxes were scattered on the floor and in every place as if the young chemist in order to analyse the mystery of creation had endeavoured first to reconstruct the primeval chaos. The tables and especially the carpet were already stained with large spots of various hues which frequently proclaimed the agency of fire. An electrical machine an air pump the galvanic trough a solar microscope and large glass jars and receivers were conspicuous amidst the mass of matter. Upon the table by his side were some books lying open several letters a bundle of new pens and a bottle of Japan ink that served as an inkstand a piece of deal lately part of the lid of a box with many chips and a hand some razor that had been used as a knife. There were bottles of soda water sugar pieces of lemon and the traces of an effervescent beverage. Two piles of books supported the tongs and these upheld a small glass retort above an argand lamp. I had not been seated many minutes before the liquor in the vessel boiled over adding fresh stains to the table and rising in fumes with a most disagreeable odour. Shelley snatched the glass quickly and dashing it in pieces among the ashes under the grate increased the unpleasant and penetrating effluvia.

The evening was spent at Shelley's rooms and he spoke on poetry with the same animation and glowing

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zeal that characterised his former discourses Hogg, indeed, found his young friend a “ ‘ whole University in himself ’ in respect of the stimulus and incitement which his example afforded to my love of study ” Hogg and Shelley almost invariably passed the afternoon and evening together, at first alternately at their respective rooms, but afterwards, when they had become more familiar, most frequently by far at Shelley’s, sometimes one or two good and harmless men of their acquaintance were present, but they were usually alone His rooms were preferred because there his philosophical apparatus was at hand, and he was able at any moment to ascertain by actual experiment the value of some new idea that rushed into his brain He spent much of his time and money at this time in the assiduous cultivation of chemistry These chemical operations seemed to an unskilful observer to promise nothing but disasters His hands, his clothes, his books, and his furniture were stained and corroded by mineral acids More than one hole in the carpet could elucidate the ultimate phenomenon of combustion, especially a formidable aperture in the middle of the room, where the floor also had been burnt by the spontaneous ignition caused by mixing ether with some other fluid in a crucible, and the honourable wound was speedily enlarged by rents, for the philosopher as he hastily crossed the room in pursuit of

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truth was frequently caught in it by the foot Hogg feared with reason that his friend would poison himself as the plates and glasses and his tea things were used indiscriminately with crucibles retorts and recipients to contain the most deleterious ingredients Once when Hogg was taking tea with Shelley by the fireside his attention was attracted by a sound in the cup into which he was about to pour some tea and on looking into it he found a seven shilling piece partly dissolved by *aqua regia* Although Shelley laughed at his caution he used to speak with horror of the consequences of having inadvertently swallowed through a similar accident some mineral poisons—perhaps arsenic—at Eton which he believed had not only seriously injured his health but that he feared he should never entirely recover from the shock it had inflicted on his constitution Hogg however detected no serious or lasting injury in his youthful and healthy although somewhat delicate aspect

To Hogg the study of the physical sciences offered no attraction and he says that through his lack of sympathy Shelley's zeal at first so ardent gradually cooled Nevertheless their intimacy increased rapidly and they soon formed a habit of passing the greater part of their time together If by chance Shelley saw Hogg at Chapel he studiously avoided all communication and as soon as the doors were open retreated hastily

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to his rooms. He often absented himself from dinner in the hall, which he disliked as he did all College meetings, and he would then lunch with Hogg at one, and take long country walks in the afternoon. Otherwise it was not their custom to meet before that hour, but the country walk was seldom omitted. Shelley usually furnished himself with a pair of duelling pistols and ammunition, and when he came to a solitary spot he would pin up a card or fix some other mark on a tree or bank, and amuse himself by firing at it. He was a good shot, and his frequent success gave him much delight. But he handled his weapons so carelessly that at length he was induced to leave them at home, as Hogg often contrived secretly to abstract the flints or would purposely forget to bring the powder-flask or some other accessory.

During their rural excursions Shelley loved to walk in the woods, or to stroll on the banks of the Thames. Water had a perennial attraction for him. Hogg says he was a devoted worshipper of the water-nymphs, for whenever he found a pool, or even a small puddle, he would loiter near it, and it was no easy task to get him to quit it. He specially mentions a pool in an old quarry at the foot of Shotover Hill, where his friend would linger until dusk, "gazing in silence on the water, repeating verses aloud or engage in earnest discussion. Sometimes he would hurl a big stone into

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the water exult at the splash and quietly watch the decreasing agitation until the last faint ring had disappeared on the surface. And he would split slaty stones and when he had collected a sufficient number he would gravely make ducks and drakes of them counting with the utmost glee the number of bounds as they flew along skimming the surface of the pond.

His passion for sailing paper boats he learnt later. It was his practice to screw up a scrap of paper into the semblance of a boat and on committing it to the water would watch its fortunes. It generally sank but very occasionally his frail bark would perform its journey and reach the other side of the water. Shelley derived much delight from this form of amusement and Hogg who seems to have shown exemplary patience in keeping him company says that on one occasion only was he successful in prevailing on him to abandon his favourite sport while any timber remained in the dockyard. It was a bitterly cold Sunday afternoon early in the new year the sun had set and it threatened to snow. The poet with swollen hands blue with cold was creating a paper navy to be launched simultaneously when Hogg said Shelley there is no use in talking to you you are the Demiurgus of Plato! He instantly caught up the whole flotilla and bounding homewards with mighty strides laughed aloud—laughed like a giant as he used

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to say " As long as any paper remained available to Shelley, when he was engaged in this pursuit, he would continue to convert it into paper boats After consuming any waste paper he might have with him, he would use the covers of letters, then the letters themselves, even the communications of valued correspondents would share the same fate And the fly-leaves of books, for he seldom was without one, were used for the same purpose, though he never destroyed the text Once, so a mythical legend goes, he found himself on the bank of the Serpentine (having exhausted his supplies at the round pond in Kensington Gardens), and the only scrap of paper that he could muster was a bank post-note for fifty pounds After hesitating for some time, he yielded to temptation and, twisting it into a boat, he committed it to the waves, then he watched its fortunes with anxiety, and was gratified at recovering it on its arrival at the other side of the water

On returning from their long afternoon rambles, Shelley would be overcome with extreme drowsiness, and sleep from two to four hours, often so soundly that his slumbers resembled a deep lethargy " He lay occasionally on the sofa," but, as he was very sensitive to cold, " more commonly stretched upon the rug before a large fire, like a cat, and his little round head was exposed to such a fierce heat " that Hogg used to

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wonder how he could bear it. Sometimes his friend would interpose some shelter but the sleeper usually contrived to turn himself round and to roll again into the spot where the fire glowed the brightest. His torpor was generally profound but he would sometimes discourse incoherently for a long while in his sleep. At six he would suddenly compose himself even in the midst of a most animated narrative or of earnest discussion and he would be buried in entire forgetfulness in a sweet and mighty oblivion until ten when he would suddenly start up and rubbing his eyes with great violence and passing his fingers swiftly through his long hair would enter at once into a vehement argument or begin to recite verses either of his own composition or from the works of others with a rapidity and an energy that was often quite painful. And while Shelley slept Hogg seized the opportunity of getting several uninterrupted hours for writing or reading.

As soon as he woke Shelley would be ready for his supper after which his discourse was eminently brilliant. Although he was as unwilling to separate as Dr. Johnson on the stroke of two Hogg would rise and depart with promises to meet him on the morrow.

Before *St. Irvyne* was published Shelley brought out another volume. He was quick to act on his father's hint to Munday the printer who soon had a

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chance of indulging him in one of his printing freaks. It must have been on a morning early in November 1810, when his newly made friend, Hogg, called on Shelley at his rooms and found him so absorbed with correcting proofs that an hour passed before he broke silence. He then announced his intention of publishing some poems, the proofs of which he put into the hands of Hogg, who, after reading them through attentively twice, pronounced judgment. He thought that there were some good lines in the verses, but also many irregularities and incongruities. Shelley did not attempt to defend his work, but remarked that, as he was not proposing to issue the poems with his own name, its publication could not harm him. Hogg disagreed with this argument, and the matter was dropped until after dinner, when Shelley returned to the subject. He suggested correcting the defects, but Hogg pointed out that an alteration here and there would transform the verses into burlesque poetry. The poet was amused with the idea, but he gave up his intention of publishing the book. The proofs of the volume, however, lay about Shelley's rooms for some days, and he and Hogg employed themselves from time to time in altering and making the verses more and more ridiculous. Shelley enjoyed the joke, and, in order to give it an additional touch of absurdity, a title-page was devised in which the book was described as "Posthu-

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mous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson being poems found among the papers of that noted female who attempted the life of the king in 1786 Edited by John FitzVictor Hogg says that the story of Peg Nicholson the mad washerwoman who tried to stab George the Third with a carving knife outside his palace was still in the memory of everyone The woman was living but as an inmate of Bedham she was dead to the world and it was supposed she could suffer no harm by imposing this sheaf of verse on the world as her posthumous works under the editorship of a fictitious nephew by name FitzVictor apparently a son of the Victor who had collaborated recently with Cazire The idea said Hogg gave an object and purpose to our burlesque to ridicule the strange mixture of sentimentality with the murderous fury of revolutionists that was so prevalent in the compositions of the day When the bookseller called for the proof Shelley told him he had changed his mind about issuing them but showed him the altered verses The man was so pleased with the whimsical conceit that he asked if he might publish the book on his own account—promising secrecy and as many *gratis* copies as might be required The permission was given and in a few hours the printed volume a noble quarto appeared—consisting of a small number of pages printed in handsome type in ink of a rich glossy black on large

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thick white drawing paper Shelley had torn open a large square bundle of books before the printer's boy had quitted the room, and holding a copy in both hands he ran about in an ecstasy of delight, gazing at the superb title-page "

The book was advertised in the *Oxford Herald* for November 17 as just published, price 2s Hogg says that the first poem, "a long one condemning war in the lump" had been confided to Shelley by some rhymester of the day " And in a letter to Graham from Oxford, dated November 30, Shelley speaks of another poem in the volume, namely, a part of the "Epithalamium," as being "the production of a friend's *mistress*, it had been concluded there," he says, "but she thought it abrupt and added this [some extra lines] it is omitted in numbers of the copies—that which I sent to my mother did not, of course, contain it—I shall possibly send you the above to-day, but I am afraid that they will not insert it— But you mistake, the Epithalamium will make it sell like wildfire, and, as the *Nephew* is kept a profound secret, there can arise no danger from the indelicacy of the Aunt— It sells wonderfully here, and is become the fashionable subject of conversation— What particular subject do you mean, I cannot make out, I confess— Of course, to my Father, Peg is a profound secret, he is better and recovering very fast "

Oxford

Hogg also says of the book ' nor was a certain success wanting the remaining copies were rapidly sold in Oxford at the aristocratical price of half a crown for half a dozen pages We used to meet gownsmen in High Street reading the goodly volume as they walked—indeed it was a kind of fashion to be seen reading it in public as a mark of a nice discernment of a delicate and fastidious taste in poetry and the very criterion of a choice spirit And although he adds that nobody suspected or could suspect who was the author and the thing passed off as the genuine production of the would be regicide the authorship was known to others in Oxford

Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe in an amusing letter written from Christ Church on March 15 1811 and published by Lady Charlotte Bury in her *Diary Illustrative of the Times of George the Fourth* says Talking of books we have lately had a literary Sun shine forth upon us here before whom our former luminaries must hide their diminished heads—a Mr Shelley of University College who lives upon arsenic aqua fortis half an hour's sleep in the night and is desperately in love with the memory of Margaret Nicholson He has published what he terms the Posthumous Poems printed for the benefit of Mr Peter Finnerly which I am grieved to say though stuffed full of Treason is extremely dull but the Author is a great genius and

Shelley in England

if he be not clapped up in Bedlam or hanged, will certainly prove one of the sweetest swans on the tuneful margin of the Charwell Shelley's style is much like that of Moore burlesqued, for Frank is a very foul-mouthed fellow, and Charlotte, one of the most impudent brides that I ever met with in a book "

Another person at Oxford who was in the secret of the authorship was the partner of Munday, the printer of the volume, Henry Slatter, who contributed his recollections of Shelley to the fourth edition of Montgomery's *Oxford* Slatter's statement that the " Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson " was " almost still-born " is more likely than Hogg's account of its success It is curious that both Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe and Slatter state that the profits of the " Fragments " were to be applied to Peter Finnerty ¹ Slatter also tells us with regard to this book that " the ease with which Shelley composed many of the stanzas therein contained is truly astonishing , when surprised with a proof from the printers, in the morning, he would frequently start off his sofa, exclaiming, that that had been his only bed, and, on being informed that the men were waiting for more copy, he would sit down and write off a few stanzas, and send them to the press, without even revising or reading them—this I have myself witnessed " When one considers

¹ See page 149

Oxford

the quality of the verses however this literary activity does not appear very astonishing

While Peg Nicholson was going through the press Shelley was preparing *St Irvyne* his second novel for the printers after Stockdale his publisher had been over the manuscript On November 14 he wrote to Stockdale from University College

I return you the Romance by this day's coach I am much obligated by the trouble you have taken to fit it for the press I am myself by no means a good hand at correction but I think I have obviated the principal objections which you allege

Girotti as you will see did *not* die by Wolfstein's hand but by the influence of that natural magic which when the secret was imparted to the latter destroyed him Mountfort being a character of inferior import I did not think it necessary to state the catastrophe of *him* as at best it could be but uninteresting Eloise and Fitzcuztace are married and happy I suppose and Megalena dies by the same means as Wolfstein I do not myself see any other explanation that is required As to the method of publishing it I think as it is a thing which almost *mechanically* sells to circulating libraries &c I would wish it to be published on my *own* account Shall you make this in one or two volumes?

Shelley wrote again about *St Irvyne* to Stockdale from Oxford on November 19 and expressed surprise that the Romance would make but one small volume

Shelley in England

it will at all events be larger than *Zastrozzi* " He was, however, mistaken, for his new novel was shorter "What I mean," he continues, "as 'Rosicrucian' is the elixir of eternal life which Ginotti has obtained, Mr Godwin's romance of 'St Leon' turns upon that superstition, I enveloped it in mystery for the greater excitement of interest, and on a re-examination you will perceive that Mountfort physically did kill Ginotti, which must appeal from the latter's paleness

When do you suppose *St Irvyne* will be out ? " This last question was again asked of Stockdale by the anxious young author in another letter from Oxford on December 2 By December 10 the novel, printed and bound, was in Shelley's hands, as on that date he presented a copy to his uncle, Mr Robert Parker, with a note begging his acceptance of the romance, and adding, "Mr Parker's initial opinion on the book would be regarded as an honour" ¹ Stockdale advertised *St Irvyne* in the *Times* for January 26, 1811, as "The University Romance—This day is published, price only 5s *St Irvyne, or, The Rosicrucian* a Romance By a

¹ This copy of *St Irvyne* was sold at auction by Messrs Sotheby on July 22, 1908, for £200 On December 18, 1810, Shelley requested Stockdale to send copies of the romance to Miss Marshall, Horsham, Sussex, T Medwin, Esq, Horsham, T J Hogg, Esq, Rev (—) Dayrell's, Lymington Dayrell, Buckinghamshire, and six copies to himself On January 11, 1811, he ordered a copy to be sent to Miss Harriet Westbrook, 10 Chapel Street, Grosvenor Square He also sent a copy to Robert Southey

Oxford

Gentleman of Oxford University Printed for Stockdale Junor 41 Pall Mall and an earlier announcement probably in this form had caught the author's eye when he wrote to his publisher from Field Place on December 18 I saw your advertisement of the Romance and approve of it highly it is likely to excite curiosity If any novel needed a magnetic influence to attract readers *St Irvyne* needed it but although the publisher continued to advertise the book the public was not attracted By January 11 Shelley may have had some misgivings as to its reception and ingenuously asked his publisher Do you find that the public are captivated by the title page? Unless Stockdale equivocated Shelley must have been disappointed, the public showed no signs of being captivated for the book so far from selling mechanically at the circulating libraries appears to have fallen practically unnoticed by the press *The British Critic* however said 'Would that this gentleman of Oxford had a taste for other and better pursuits but as we presume him to be a *young gentleman* this may in due time happen

Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe was one of the very few of Shelley's contemporaries at Oxford who took an interest in his doings In two of his letters dated respectively on March 15 and October 1811 he speaks

For January 1811

Shelley in England

of "Margaret Nicholson," "St Irvyne," "The Necessity of Atheism," and a poem on the State of Public Affairs. Of the last two we shall have something to say later. In speaking of the novel he writes, "There appeared a monstrous romance in one volume, called *St Irvyne, or, The Rosicrucian*. Here is another pearl of great price¹. All the heroes are confirmed robbers and causeless murderers, while the heroines glide *en chemise* through the streets of Geneva, tap at the palazzo doors of their sweethearts, and on being denied admittance leave no cards, but run home to their warm beds, and kill themselves. If your lordship would like to see this treasure I will send it"¹.

¹ *Diary Illustrative of the Times of George the Fourth*, by Lady Charlotte Bury, 1838

CHAPTER VII

OXFORD (*continued*)

Further characteristics—Shelley's practical joke—His spare diet—Reading habits—Studies—Plato—Shelley's philosophical doubts—Stockdale warns Mr Timothy Shelley of his son's views—Mr Shelley's anger—Shelley's engagement with Harnet Grove cancelled—Elizabeth Shelley and Hogg—Shelley and Bird—*Leonora*—A Poetical Essay on the Existing State of Things —Peter Finerty

To the description of Shelley as he appeared to Hogg on first making his acquaintance at Oxford may be added some physical and mental characteristics from the same and other sources. In stature he was above middle height being five feet ten but his studious habits and shortness of sight had caused him to stoop from the shoulders. Leigh Hunt who met him probably during these Oxford days or shortly after says

he was then a youth not come to his full height very gentlemanly earnest gazing at every object that interested him and quoting the Greek dramatists. His body was spare but his bones large and although he was strong light and active with singular grace of movement at times his gestures were almost awkward. Of ordinary mundane wisdom he possessed none his

Shelley in England

simplicity was infantine, the genuine simplicity of true genius, and the purity of his life was most conspicuous "In no individual," says Hogg, "was the moral sense more completely developed, and in no being was the perception of right and wrong more acute. Towards injustice of all kinds he was keenly sensitive, and his philanthropy was boundless. His generous sympathy on witnessing the infliction of pain was too vivid to allow him to consider the consequences of interfering. Hogg tells a story how he rescued a donkey that was being cruelly beaten by a lad in his efforts to force it to carry a burden beyond its strength. On another occasion Shelley procured some milk, and endeavoured to soothe a young and half-witted child, whom he had found, apparently deserted, in a country lane, suffering from exposure and hunger. These instances of his kindness of heart were due to that natural impulse for helping the suffering which, to the end of his life, was one of the most beautiful characteristics of his nature."

We are told that he was habitually grave and possessed an "invincible repugnance to the comic," yet the pranks of a schoolboy still lingered. "The metaphysician of eighteen actually attempted once or twice to electrify the son of his scout, a boy like a sheep, by name James, who roared aloud with ludicrous and stupid terror whenever Shelley affected to bring by

Oxford

stealth any part of his philosophical apparatus near to him ¹

At Oxford Shelley did not practise vegetarianism but the plainness of his diet anticipated it for he questioned even at that time the justification of slaying animals for food. Bread in his case was more than figuratively his staff of life. He could have made it his sole sustenance if compelled by necessity and he would have been content to do so. When walking in the streets of London if overcome with hunger he would make a sudden dart into a baker's shop and purchasing a loaf break it and offer half to his companion. He said with surprise one day to Hogg: "Do you know that such an one does not like bread?" Did you ever know a person who disliked bread?" and he added that a friend had actually refused one of his spontaneous offers of half a loaf. In his pockets he generally carried a supply of his favourite food and a circle of crumbs on the floor often marked the place where he had sat at his studies his face nearly in contact with his book greedily devouring bread amidst his profound abstractions. Occasionally he would add as a relish to his regimen of bread common cooking raisins or oranges and apples from the stalls. For drink he was content with cold water of which he took frequent draughts but tea he welcomed and he

¹ Hogg vol. 1 p. 132

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would take cup after cup He drank wine sometimes and diluted it largely with water spirits he entirely eschewed

His studies at Oxford were self-imposed, the curriculum of the University he could not or would not follow He was always actively employed, and no student ever read more assiduously At all hours he was to be found, book in hand, reading, in season and out of season, at table, in bed, and especially during his walks Not only in the country lanes, but in the streets of Oxford and the most crowded thoroughfares of London did he pursue his studies Stooping low with bent knees and outstretched neck, he pored earnestly over the volume before him, and he would elude, with his vast and quiet agility, any malignant interruptions¹ Hogg, who gives this account of Shelley's reading habits, adds that he never beheld eyes that devoured the pages more voraciously than his, and he was convinced that two-thirds of the day and night were often employed in reading His inextinguishable thirst for knowledge prompted him frequently to read for sixteen out of the twenty-four hours, when, his book laid open on the chimney-piece, as was his custom, Hogg found it difficult to rouse him from his abstractions to join in conversation

¹ Hogg, vol 1 p 125

Oxford

The Oxford of Shelley's time differed little from that of the eighteenth century when Gibbon spent there the most idle and unprofitable fourteen months of his whole life. Then as formerly the fellows enjoyed their emoluments, their food and wine, and troubled themselves little with reading, thinking, or supervising the studies of the place. Their conversation, says Gibbon in the account of his life at Magdalen, stagnated in a round of college business, Tory politics, personal anecdotes, and private scandal; their dull and deep potations excused the brisk intemperance of youth.

Shelley, who readily met any friendly or sympathetic advances, was quickly repelled by the display of pretentious affectation which was the characteristic attitude of the dons.

A feeble attempt, but not of the kind likely to appeal to Shelley, was made by the authorities to direct his studies. Not long after he arrived at Oxford he was sent for one morning by a little man, presumably a college tutor, who said to him in an almost inaudible whisper, "You must read," and he repeated this in junction many times in his small voice. With Shelley's studious habits, the advice must have appeared welcome, and he replied that he had no objection. To satisfy his mentor, he told him that in his pocket he had some books which he began to take out. The

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little man stared at Shelley and remarked that that was not exactly what he meant, "You must read *Prometheus Vincit*, and Demosthenes' *de Corona* and Euclid—and then he added, "You must begin with Aristotle's *Ethics* and go on with his other treatises" Although Shelley did not appreciate this counsel, he soon took very kindly to the scholastic logic of Oxford and "seized its distinctions with his accustomed quickness"

With Hogg "he exercised his ingenuity in long discussions respecting various questions in logic, and more frequently in metaphysical enquiries" They read much together, and their studies included Locke's *Essay concerning the Human Understanding*, Hume's *Essays*, and *Le Système de la Nature* The authorship of this book, which has been ascribed both to Helvetius and to J B Mirabaud, was really the work of Baron d'Holbach, one of the French Encyclopædists Shelley's curiosity may have been aroused by seeing Godwin's reference to *Le Système* in *Political Justice* He was undoubtedly impressed, if not influenced by Holbach's book, and he refers to it in an early letter to Godwin (July 29, 1812) as "of uncommon powers, yet too obnoxious to accusations of sensuality and selfishness" A month later he expressed his intention of translating it, but, zealous champion as he was at that time of free-thought, he was unable to endorse

entirely the theories of naturalism as set forth in *Le Système* and he contented himself by quoting some extracts from the book in the notes to *Queen Mab*

They also read Plato but in Dacier's translation and in an English version Shelley earnestly yearned for some vigorous mental exercise and although he would have found it then as he did afterwards in the study of Plato he sought for this stimulant in those writers who assailed revealed religion Hogg suggests that to a soul loving excitement and change destruction so that it be on a grand scale may sometimes prove hardly less inspiring than creation Shelley's credulity was such that he 'believed implicitly every assertion so that it was improbable and incredible exulting in the success of his philosophic doubts when like the calmest and most suspicious of analysts he refused to admit without strict proof propositions that many who are not deficient in metaphysical prudence account obvious and self evident But whatever Hogg may say Shelley was too intelligent to accept the hollow religious conventions practised and enjoined by his father

The Shelleys were Whigs and Bysshe was brought up in an environment in which Liberal ideas were at least nominally encouraged The personal attitude of his grandfather Sir Bysshe towards religion was apparently one of supreme indifference But Timothy

Shelley in England

Shelley observed the outward forms and teaching of the Church of England such as were in use in the eighteenth century. It was a respectable institution which it was the duty of every country gentleman to support. Professor Dowden stated that Timothy Shelley entered himself as a subscriber for two copies of the Unitarian Sermons of Dr Sadler under the title "a friend of religious liberty," and said, "When Mr Edwards [the Vicar of their parish] dies, I should like Mr Sadler as our clergyman." Timothy Shelley possessed no gift for polemics, but he held to the arguments of Paley (he habitually called him Palley) and recommended his works to his doubting son Bysshe, who said to Hogg, "my father will call him Palley, why does he call him so?" derived no satisfaction from the study of that divine. His attitude of mind may perhaps have been fostered by his mother, who, according to Bysshe, appears to have been far from orthodox. In a letter to Hogg he writes, "My mother is quite rational, she says, 'I think *prayer* and thanksgiving are of no use. If a man is a good man, philosopher or Christian, he will do very well in whatever state awaits us.' I call this liberality!"¹

Shelley's discussions with Hogg during his first term at Oxford had done much to confirm him in his scepticism. Mr Lang and others speak of his atti-

¹ May 15, 1811

Oxford

tude as a kind of pose or boyish prank to tease the dons. But there is every evidence that whatever Hogg may have been Shelley though biassed was in deadly earnest for he anxiously studied every book within his reach that was likely to support his views. On November 11 he asked Stockdale in a letter from Oxford to obtain for him 'An Hebrew Essay demonstrating that the Christian religion is false' which a clergyman writing in the *Christian Observer*¹ had declared 'as an unanswerable yet sophistical argument' and he added that if it were translated into Greek, Latin or any of the European languages he would thank Stockdale to send it.

One can understand that such a book would have appealed to him as among those with whom he was accustomed to correspond on religious matters were several clergymen.

So far from making a secret of his views Shelley must have expressed them freely for both he and Hogg enjoyed a reputation throughout the University for entertaining dangerous opinions.

Shelley was in London about the middle of December on his way from Oxford to Field Place where he was to spend his Christmas holidays and he probably paid his promised visit to Stockdale's shop to inquire

¹ Dr. Richard Garnett looked through this periodical but could find no such article.

Shelley in England

about the publication of *St Irvyne* Stockdale, who later earned notoriety as the publisher of a scandalous publication known as the *Memoirs of Harriette Wilson*, appears in 1810 to have been still susceptible of being shocked. He declared, in his recollections of Shelley written some years later,¹ that "not merely by slight hints, but constant allusions, personally and by letters," was he "rendered extremely uneasy respecting Mr Shelley's religious, or indeed irreligious sentiments towards which all his conversations, reading, and pursuits clearly tended." Few people could withstand Shelley's frank enthusiasm, and he easily won Stockdale's warm regard. The bookseller's motives appear to have been well intentioned, but he was not entirely disinterested. It was reasonable that he may have expected to earn the gratitude of Mr Timothy Shelley when he communicated to him his suspicions regarding Bysshe's views of religion. The only result of his meddling was that Mr Shelley lost no time in calling on him at his shop. Stockdale thereupon enlarged on the dangers that threatened his son, and suggested as a remedy that some friend capable of entering into his feelings might endeavour to gain the young man's confidence. But the only friend at this

¹ In *Stockdale's Budget*, 1827. A copy of this curious publication is in the British Museum. Dr Richard Garnett was the first to draw public attention to Stockdale's references to Shelley in his article, "Shelley in Pall Mall," *Macmillan's Magazine*, June 1860.

time who was capable of gaining Bysshe's confidence was Hogg whom Stockdale seems to have suspected to Hogg was imputed the blame of having led the poet astray. Smarting under the blow which had been administered by the well meaning bookseller Mr Shelley at once wrote to his erring son who was now at Field Place one of his wildly furious letters in which Hogg was probably made the subject of attack and he appears to have threatened to withdraw Bysshe from college.

On Mr Shelley's return home he wrote on December 23 to thank Stockdale for the very liberal and handsome manner in which you imparted to me the sentiments you held towards my son and the open and friendly communication.

But what proved to be the last Christmas that Bysshe spent under his father's roof was anything but a peaceful one. Stockdale had betrayed him to his father and as he wrote to Hogg on December 20 had converted him to sanctity. He mentioned my name he goes on to say as a supporter of sceptical principles. My father wrote to me and I am now surrounded environed by dangers to which compared the devils who besieged St Anthony were all inefficient. They attack me for my detestable principles. I am reckoned an outcast yet I defy them and I laugh at their ineffectual efforts. My father wished to with

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draw me from College I would not consent to it There lowers a terrific tempest, but I stand, as it were, on a pharos, and smile exultingly at the vain beating of the billows below " "How can I fancy that I shall ever think you mad," he adds "am I not the wildest, the most delirious of enthusiasm's offspring?" And he concludes, "Adieu! Down with Bigotry! Down with Intolerance! In this endeavour your most sincere friend will join his every power, his every feeble resource Adieu!"

But there was another and, for the moment, deeper sorrow that saddened Shelley and made him exclaim to Hogg, "Oh, here we are in the midst of all the uncongenial jollities of Christmas, when you are compelled to contribute to the merriment of others—when you are compelled to live under the severest of all restraints, concealment of feelings pregnant enough in themselves, how terrible is your lot! I am learning abstraction, but I fear that my proficiency will be but trifling I cannot, dare not, speak of myself Why do you still continue to say, 'Do not despond, that you must not despair'?"

The cause of this despair was Miss Harriet Grove, Bysshe's pretty cousin, whose love for him had apparently for some time been lukewarm, and had now, he realised, expired The last poem in the *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson*, published during

Oxford

the middle of the preceding November is a serious piece entitled *Melody to a scene of Former Times* beginning

Art thou indeed for ever gone,
For ever ever lost to me?

which seems to strike a personal note and perhaps alludes to a coolness on the part of Miss Grove When he says

Two years speechless bliss are gone
I thank thee dearest, for the dream

as I have before pointed out he appears to be speaking of the two years that had elapsed since that occasion when he and his cousin met for the first time after childhood Bysshe was an assiduous letter writer and we know that Miss Grove was one of his correspondents Religious discussion was at this time as the breath of his life and he found it impossible to restrain himself from entering upon his favourite topic even in his love letters To quote the words of her brother the Rev Charles Grove She became uneasy at the tone of his letters on the subject of religion at first consulting my mother and subsequently my father also on the subject This led at last though I cannot exactly tell how to the dissolution of an engagement between Bysshe and my sister H which had previously been

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permitted, both by his father and mine" ¹ Grove spent the Christmas vacation at Field Place, and perhaps he conveyed to Bysshe these unwelcome tidings. In his letters to Hogg, Bysshe had much to say on the subject, of her want of enthusiasm, he speaks of "the never-dying remorse, which my egotising folly has occasioned," and attributes the cause of her disloyalty to worldly prejudice and bigotry. His sister Elizabeth attempted sometimes to plead his cause, but in vain. Miss Grove said

"Even supposing I take your representation of your brother's qualities and sentiments, which as you coincide in and admire, I may fairly imagine to be exaggerated, although *you* may not be aware of the exaggeration, what right have *I*, admitting that he is so superior, to enter into an intimacy, which must end in delusive disappointment, when he finds how really

¹ An interesting sidelight is thrown on this episode by Dr John William Polidori, who accompanied Byron in 1816 as his physician to Switzerland, where he made Shelley's acquaintance for the first time. He notes, somewhat crudely, in his *Diary* (edited by Mr W. M. Rossetti, 1911) some facts on the life of Shelley, who undoubtedly confided them to him.

"Shelley is another instance of wealth inducing relations to confine for madness, and was only saved by his physician [Dr Lind] being honest. He was betrothed from a boy to his cousin, for age, another came who had as much as he *would* have, and she left him 'because he was an atheist'. When starving, a friend [P. Godwin] to whom he had given £2000, though he knew it, would not come near him." The last statement seems to relate to William Godwin, who held himself aloof from Shelley when he was in dire need during the winter of 1814, after his elopement with Mary Godwin.

Oxford

inferior I am to the being which his heated imagination has pictured This was unanswerable adds Shelley in quoting Miss Grove's decision in a letter to Hogg¹ Later he writes 'Is she not gone and yet I breathe I live! But adieu to egotism I am sick to death of the name of *self* And again Believe me my dear friend that my only ultimate wishes *now* are for your happiness and that of my sisters'³

When at last he realised that it was vain to hope for a reconciliation and that it was now all over between himself and Miss Grove he wrote She is no longer mine! She abhors me as a sceptic as what *she* was before! Oh bigotry! When I pardon this last this severest of thy persecutions may Heaven (if there be wrath in Heaven) blast me! Has vengeance in his armoury of wrath a punishment more dreadful?⁴ Is suicide wrong? I slept with a loaded pistol and some poison last night but did not die I could not come on Monday my sister would not part with me but I must—I will see you soon My sister is now comparatively happy she has felt deeply for me Had it not been for her—had it not been for a sense of what I owe her to you I should have bidden you a

¹ Shelley to Hogg December 23 1810

² Shelley to Hogg January 2 1811

³ Shelley to Hogg December 28 1810

Mr W M Rossetti points out that this sentence is repeated almost verbatim from Schubart's *Ahasuerus*

Shelley in England

final farewell some time ago But can the dead feel ,
dawns any day-beam on the night of dissolution ? ” ¹

Elizabeth “saw me when I received your letter of yesterday,” he wrote to Hogg “She saw the conflict of my soul At first she said nothing , and then she exclaimed, ‘ Re-direct it, and send it instantly to the post ! ’ Believe me, I feel far more than I will *allow* myself to express, for the cruel disappointments which I have undergone ” Shelley seemed to have believed that the letter was about Miss Grove, as he added “ Write to me whatever you wish to say , you may say what you will on *other* subjects , but on *that* I dare not even read what you would write *Forget* her ? What would I not have given up to have been thus happy ” ²

“ Forsake her ! Forsake one whom I loved ! Can I ? Never ! But she is gone—she is lost to me for ever , for ever ! ” he writes in a fit of agony “ I am cold this morning, so you must excuse bad writing, as I have been most of the night pacing a churchyard I must now engage in scenes of strong interest ” Then on January 11, 1811, comes one of Bysshe’s last references to Harriet Grove in his letters to Hogg “ She is gone ! She is lost to me for ever ! She married ! ” ³

¹ Shelley to Hogg, January 3, 1811

² Shelley to Hogg, January 6

³ Hogg prints “ She is married,” but Peacock’s suggested emendation as given above would seem to be correct, as Miss Grove does not appear

Married to a clod of earth she will become as insensible herself all those fine capabilities will moulder ! Let us speak no more on the subject Do not deprive me of the little remains of peace which yet linger that which arises from endeavours to make others happy

His solicitude for the happiness of others included a plan which involved Hogg and his sister Elizabeth with whom except an occasional tiff when she preferred less dry and abstruse matters to his ethical and metaphysical speculations he agreed most affectionately cordially and perfectly ¹ To Elizabeth (of whom he generally spoke to Hogg as my sister as if he only had one) he had turned for sympathy and found it while he was suffering the tortures of unrequited love Bysshe had arranged that Hogg should go to Field Place having undertaken to fall in love with Elizabeth who had not yet turned seventeen

If I did not he adds humorously in writing years after this incident I had no business to go to Field Place and he would never forgive me I promised to do my best Bysshe read Hogg's letters to her and he was happy when he was able to write

to have married Mr Heylar until the autumn of 1811 On October 28 of that year in a letter which Professor Dowden quotes from Shelley to Charles Grove from York he says How do you like M Heylar? a new brother as well as a new cousin [the new cousin was Shelley's bride] must be an invaluable acquisition

Hogg vol 1 p 201

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to him, "She frequently inquires after you, and we talk of you often I do not wish to awaken her intellect too powerfully, this must be my apology for not communicating all my speculations to her I wish you knew Elizabeth, she is a great consolation to me, but, if all be well, my wishes on that score will soon be accomplished" Bysshe encouraged Hogg to publish a tale, so that he might give Elizabeth a copy, but his great hope of bringing her and his friend together was for the present out of the question Hogg was in Mr Timothy Shelley's bad books, thanks to Stockdale, who had already used him as a scapegoat for Bysshe's sins, and was preparing for him an additional burden

During these days of trouble at home, Shelley did not entirely abandon certain literary projects which he had set on foot at Oxford It was there that he became acquainted with a literary character named Browne, better known as Bird, who had written a voluminous historical and political work on Sweden He applied for assistance to Shelley, who with his characteristic generosity agreed to purchase the copyright of the work To Munday and Slatter, the Oxford printers, Shelley applied for aid in raising the necessary amount, and they, knowing his family and wishing to save him from money-lenders, advanced a sum of £200, and went security for the remaining £400 Type and paper were purchased, but the work had not progressed

Oxford

very far when Shelley left the University and the printers' hopes of recovering their liabilities vanished. Mr Slatter, who related these facts, did not doubt the intention of Shelley in entering into the engagement, but his prospects suddenly changed and he was never afterwards in a position to fulfil it.

Hogg, who was staying in London during the Christmas holidays, had literary ambitions which were fostered by Shelley, and among other attempts he composed some verses on *The Dying Gladiator*, the subject of the Oxford English prize poem for 1810. Hogg was not awarded the prize, and Shelley, usually an admirer of his friend's poems, was unenthusiastic over *The Dying Gladiator*. But he had faith in Hogg's talents, and it is said that he wrote with him a novel entitled *Leonora*. This story, like other flotsam and jetsam from Shelley's pen, has not survived, although it went very near to being printed. What little we know of this work is told by Slatter, but there are several references in Shelley's correspondence to a novel which appears to be *Leonora*. Shelley confided to Stockdale, in a letter on December 18, 1810, that he had a novel in preparation. It is principally constructed, he said, to convey metaphysical and political opinions by way of conversation.¹ It shall be

¹ A plan subsequently adopted by T. L. Peacock, with great success in his novels *The Heiress* (1811) and *Crotchet Castle* &c.

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sent to you as soon as completed but it shall receive more correction than I trouble myself to give to wild romance and poetry" The reception of *St Irvyne* probably did not inspire Stockdale with any desire to become the publisher of another of Shelley's works of fiction And two days later when writing to Hogg, after he had learnt that Stockdale had been talking him over with his father, he declares that "Stockdale will no longer do for me I am at a loss whom to select S's skull is very thick, but I am afraid he will not believe my assertion, indeed, should it gain credit with him, should he accept the offer of publication, there exist numbers who will find out, or imagine, a real tendency, and booksellers possess more power than we are aware of in impeding the sale of any book containing opinions displeasing to them I am disposed to offer it to Wilkie & Robinson,¹ Paternoster Row, and to take it there myself, they published Godwin's works, and it is scarcely possible to suppose anyone, layman or clergyman, will assert that these support Gospel doctrines If that will not do, I must print it myself Oxford, of course, would be most convenient for the correction of the press Mr Munday's principles are not *very* severe, he is more a votary to Mammon than God. Inconveniences would now result from my *owning* the novel, which I have in pre-

¹ The publishers of *Zastrozzi*

Oxford

paration for the press I give out therefore that I will publish no more everyone here but the select few who enter into my schemes believe my assertion ¹

Shelley's recent publishing freaks had evidently met with scant sympathy from the household at Field Place and he was therefore determined to keep his counsel to which besides Hogg his sister Elizabeth was perhaps admitted *Leonora* if this was the novel referred to in the above letter was put into the hands of the printer at Oxford who was at work on Mr Bird's *History of Sweden* but as Slatter tells us the printers refused to proceed with it in consequence of discovering that he had interwoven his free notions throughout the work and at the same time they strongly endeavoured to dissuade him from its publication altogether This advice was however disregarded and Shelley took the copy to Mr King a printer at Abingdon who had nearly completed it when Shelley's expulsion from the University stopped further progress of the work After that event in writing to Hogg on May 15 1811 he says How goes on your tale? I have heard nothing of it As for mine I cannot get an answer from Munday's ² Do they tremble? I thought the A[bingdon?] printer too stupid and I defy a zealot to

¹ Shelley to Hogg December 20 1810

The name is printed by Hogg as L In the copy of this letter corrected by Lady Shelley presumably from the original the name is given as Munday's which is evidently what was written by Shelley

Shelley in England

say it does not support orthodoxy If an author's own assertion in his own book may be taken as an avowal of his intentions, it does support orthodoxy I could not do more, and yet they say *Mine* is not printable, it is as bad as Rousseau, and would certainly be prosecuted " A novel by Shelley in the manner of Jean Jacques would certainly be an interesting recovery, if recovery were possible, but printers' proofs (for the book seems to have gone no further than that stage) have usually a very transitory existence, and the chances of its survival are remote

"I am composing a satirical poem, I shall print it at Oxford, unless I find on visiting him, that R[obinson] is ripe for printing whatever will sell In that case he is my man," thus wrote Shelley to Hogg in his letter of December 20, 1811 It is possible, though by no means certain, that he here referred to a poem mentioned by C K Sharpe in a letter, already quoted from, in which he says "Shelley's last exhibition is a poem on the State of Public Affairs" Such a poem seems to have been published, as the late Mr D F MacCarthy discovered in the *Oxford Herald* for March 9, 1811, the following advertisement

"LITERATURE *Just Published, Price Two Shillings,*
A Poetical Essay on the Existing State of Things
[Quotation from Southey's "Curse of Kehama"] By a
gentleman of the University of Oxford For assisting

Oxford

to maintain in Prison Mr Peter Finnerty imprisoned for a libel London sold by B Crosby and Co and all other booksellers 1811

The title also figures in a list of books published during 1810-11 in *The Poetical Register*

No copy of the *Poetical Essay* has as yet come to light and it is not mentioned by this title in Shelley's published correspondence But in assigning the book to Shelley there is the evidence of C K Sharpe and as in the case of *St Irvyne* it is described on the title page as by a gentleman of the University of Oxford The quotation from the 'Curse of Kehama' also suggests Shelley who inquired of Stockdale in his letter of December 2 if he knew when Southey's poem would come out as he was curious to see it We know that he procured *Kehama* as soon as it was published and it long remained a favourite with him

Peter Finnerty was an Irish journalist born in 1766 who got into trouble during the Rebellion of 1798 as printer of the *Dublin Press* For a political libel he suffered imprisonment and his types and press were destroyed On his release he went to England and became a reporter on the *Morning Chronicle* To this paper on January 23 1810 he contributed a letter on Lord Castlereagh whom Leigh Hunt said he accused of an intention to harass and destroy him and reminded the Viscount of the tyrannous and

Shelley in England

horrible cruelties practised upon the people of Ireland during his administration of that country " A year later Finnerty was tried for libel and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment His case was reported in the *Oxford Herald*, in which journal a subscription to maintain him during his imprisonment was opened Shelley's name as a subscriber of one guinea appears in the *Herald* for March 2, 1811, and a like amount is acknowledged to Mr Hobbs, of whom more presently, and to Mr Bird, evidently the Historian of Sweden Shelley's interest in Finnerty did not cease with the publication of the " Poetical Essay " He mentioned him in his " Address to the Irish People ", and in a speech which he made during his Irish campaign in the spring of 1812, at the Fishamble Theatre, Dublin, he was reported to have commiserated with the sufferings of Finnerty, and to have written " a very beautiful poem, the profits of which we understand, from *undoubted* authority, Mr Shelly [*sic*] remitted to Mr Finnerty, we have heard that they amounted to nearly a hundred pounds " ¹ This statement cannot be reconciled with the fact that the book has entirely disappeared, as, in order to yield such a sum, it would have been necessary to sell a considerable number

¹ *The Dublin Weekly Messenger*, March 7, 1812 A copy of this paper with a mark against the article on " Pierce Byshe Shelly, Esq, " is among the Shelley-Whitton papers

Oxford

of copies at the price of two shillings Professor Dowden suggested that the Poetical Essay may possibly have comprised an earlier form of the portion of Queen Mab [printed in 1813] that relates to the present time and that this part constituted the germ of the poem the other sections dealing with the past and the future being afterwards added Some reason for this theory may be found in an information laid before the Lord Chancellor in 1817 who was in possession of Eliza Westbrook's copy of Queen Mab that that poem was actually written and published when the author was of the age of nineteen

CHAPTER VIII

PHILOSOPHIC DOUBTS

Metaphysical studies—Religious doubts—Shelley's passion for dispute—His miscellaneous correspondents—On the existence of the Deity—His tirade against intolerance—A first cause—"Armageddon heroes"—The fears of his father and mother—Hogg's tale—Stockdale makes trouble—Timothy Shelley reconciled—Exit Stockdale—Shelley's return to Oxford—On the evidences of Christianity—"Parthenon"—Shelley's belief in pre existence—The adventures of a coat

SHELLEY went up to Oxford, as we have seen, a devoted student of natural philosophy, but he failed to imbue his friend Hogg with his love of chemistry and electricity. Lacking the sympathy of his companion in this direction, he discovered it in another, namely, in the study of metaphysics, into which science he plunged with his characteristic energy. The course of his incessant reading included theology, and his confession to a correspondent ¹ in the spring of 1811, "I was once an enthusiastic Deist, but never a Christian," is evidently in allusion to his state of mind during the winter of 1810-11.

There seems to be no reason to suppose that Shelley had troubled himself very much with questions of

¹ Janetta Philipps

Philosophic Doubts

religion during his Eton days and his interest in the subject at Oxford may be said to have been mainly polemical. He was concerned at this time with such discussions as those referring to the evidences of Christianity and the existence of the Deity but he had not then been moved by the deeper spiritual issues which afterwards attracted him when he was writing his *Essay on Christianity*. We can see in his letters to Hogg during the Christmas of 1810 how his mind alternates between the acceptance of a belief in a Supreme Being and total disbelief.

But before Christmas he had grown tired of the works of controversial divines and he announced in a letter to Hogg on December 23 that he had done with such studies. I shall not read Bishop Prettyman¹ or any more of them he said unless I have some particular reason. Bigots will not argue it destroys the very nature of things to argue it is contrary to faith. How therefore could you suppose that one of these liberal gentlemen would listen to scepticism on the subject even of St. Athanasius's sweeping anathema?

¹ Sir George Pretymen Tomline Bishop of Winchester was until 1803 known by the name of Pretymen. In 1799 he published his popular though not very deep *Elements of Christian Theology* dedicated to Pitt (whose tutor he had been) and used by candidates for ordination. Tomline was described in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* as a supporter of the prerogative and an uncompromising friend to the existing state of things. He objected however so strongly to Catholic Emancipation that he declared (and evidently did so to give a proof of his courage) that he was prepared to oppose it even if supported by his patron.

Shelley in England

Argument was the breath of Shelley's life, he loved it passionately as he did letter-writing. Logic and Letters were to him toys and mascots. He would relinquish neither. His investigations in pursuit of Truth included a vigorous correspondence upon controversial religion, and among those personally unknown to him, to whom he had written while in London, "by way of a gentle alterative," apparently on the subject of the Athanasian Creed, was a certain Mr W. It is not known whether Shelley had posed as a clergyman in order to "draw" his correspondent, or whether W was merely puzzled at the recondite character of his letter. "He promised to write to me when he had time," exclaimed Shelley, "seemed surprised at what I had said, yet directed me as the Reverend. his amazement must be extreme." When at length the letter from W arrived at Field Place, Shelley wrote to Hogg that it was too long to answer, but three days later he promised to send it to his friend, who had then returned to Oxford, and added, "If it amuses you, you can answer him, if not I will." Hogg returned W's letter with his reply to Shelley, who pronounced the rejoinder "excellent," and wrote "I think it will fully (in his own mind) convince Mr W. I enclosed five sheets of paper full this morning, and sent them to the coach with yours. I sate up all night to finish them, they attack his hypothesis at

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its very basis which at some future time I will explain to you and I have attempted to prove from the existence of a Deity and a Revelation the futility of the superstition upon which he forms his whole scheme

But to go back On December 23 Shelley adduces the popular objection to the free discussion of religious topics to prejudice and superstition You have said that the philosophy which I pursued is not un congenial with the strictest morality you must see that it militates with the received opinions of the world that therefore does it offend but [offends only] prejudice and superstition that superstitious bigotry inspired by the system upon which at present the world acts of believing all that we are told of as incontrovertible facts

In his letter to Hogg of January 3 in which he communicates the news that he had been thrown over by Harriet Grove before coming to the subject as if he desired to defer it as long as possible he pauses to discuss the subject of the existence of God and says

‘ Before we deny or believe the existence of any thing it is necessary that we should have a tolerably clear idea of what it is The word God a vague word has been and will continue to be the source of numberless errors until it is erased from the nomenclature of philosophy Does it not imply the soul of the Universe the intelligent and *necessarily* beneficent actuating principle? This it is impossible not

Shelley in England

to believe in, I may not be able to adduce proofs, but I think that the leaf of a tree, the meanest insect on which we trample, are, in themselves, arguments more conclusive than any which can be advanced, that some vast intellect animates infinity. If we disbelieve *this*, the strongest argument in support of the existence of a future state instantly becomes annihilated. I confess that I think Pope's

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole"

something more than poetry. It has ever been my favourite theory. For the immortal soul 'never to be able to die, never to escape from some shrine as chilling as *the clay-formed dungeon*,¹ which now it inhabits'—it is the future punishment which I can most easily believe in.

"Love, love, *infinite in extent*, eternal in duration, yet (allowing your theory in that point) perfectible, should be the reward, but can we suppose that this reward will arise, spontaneously, as a necessary appendage to our nature, or that our nature itself could be without cause—a first cause—a God? When do we see effects arise without causes? What causes are there without corresponding effects? Yet here I swear—and as I break my oath may Infinity Eternity blast me—here I swear, that never will I forgive intolerance! It is the only point on which I allow myself to encourage revenge, every moment shall be devoted to my object, which I can spare, and let me hope that it will not be a blow which spends itself, and leaves the wretch at rest—but lasting, long revenge! I am convinced too that it is of great dis-service to Society,

¹ So in Schubart

Philosophic Doubts

that it encourages prejudices which strike at the root of the dearest the tenderest of ties Oh I how I wish I were the avenger!—that it were mine to crush the demon to hurl him to his native hell never to rise again and thus to establish for ever perfect and universal toleration I expect to gratify some of this insatiable feeling in poetry You shall see—you shall hear—how it has injured me

Shelley then goes on to break the tidings that Harriet Grove was lost to him and her reason for proving faithless was that she 'abhorred him for being a sceptic and holding opinions which she herself had once held

Hitherto he had been a questioner but what he considered as an act of bigotry on the part of Harriet Grove and her parents in cancelling his engagement had prompted him to exclaim on January 6 I will crush Intolerance I will at least attempt it To fail even in so useful an attempt were glorious! To this and similar expressions Shelley gave vent in his letters to Hogg while suffering under the loss of Harriet Grove It was his first challenge to the world a defiance which in later years rang forth in *Queen Mab* *The Revolt of Islam* and *The Masque of Anarchy*

In this same letter he proceeds to consider an argument which he had received from Hogg against the Non existence of a Deity Do you allow he says

Shelley in England

“that some *supernatural* power actuates the organization of physical causes ? If this Deity thus influences the action of the Spirits (if I may be allowed the expression) which take care of minor events (supposing your theory be true), why is it *not* the soul of the Universe, in what is it not analogous to the soul of man ? Why *too* is *not* gravitation the soul of a clock ?

I think we may not inaptly define *Soul* as the most supreme, superior, and distinguished abstract appendage to the nature of anything ”

These extracts from Shelley’s letters, with the following, show the incertitude of his mind

“What necessity is there for continuing in existence ? But Heaven ! Eternity ! Love ! My dear friend, I am yet a sceptic on these subjects, would that I could believe them to be, as they are represented, would that I could totally disbelieve them ! But no ! That would be selfish I still have firmness enough to resist to the last, this most horrible of errors I wish, ardently wish, to be profoundly convinced of the existence of a Deity, that so superior a spirit might derive some degree of happiness from my feeble exertions

“For love is heaven and heaven is love ” ¹

You think so, too, and you disbelieve not the existence

¹ From Walter Scott’s *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, quoted also by Shelley as a motto for a chapter in *St Irvyne*

Philosophic Doubts

of an eternal omnipresent Spirit Stay ! I have an idea I think I can prove the existence of a Deity—a First Cause I will ask a materialist how came this universe at first ? He will answer by chance What chance ?¹ Then he proceeds to argue his case in support of A First Cause and he adds Oh that this Deity were the soul of the universe the spirit of universal imperishable love ! Indeed I believe it is but now to your argument of the necessity of Christianity I am not sure that your argument does not tend to prove its unreality Here we see Shelley pleading the cause of Deism but he cannot resist a sally at Orthodoxy Hideous hated traits of Superstition Oh ! Bigots how I abhor your influence they are all bad enough—but do we not see Fanaticism decaying ? is not its influence weakened except where Faber Rowland Hill and several others of the Armageddon heroes maintain their posts with all the obstinacy of long established dogmatism ?

Apart from this grief at the loss of Harriet Grove Bysshe cannot have found the atmosphere of Field Place congenial and but for the prospect of having to leave his sister Elizabeth he must have looked forward with pleasure to his return to Oxford If he were not actually in disgrace with his father there was probably a coolness between them arising out of the reasons that

¹ Shelley to Hogg Jan 12 1811

Shelley in England

the Groves had given for breaking off Harriet's engagement Mr Timothy Shelley was conventional, and to avow, as Bysshe had done to Stockdale, opinions such as were held by Tom Paine and other Deists was against the canons of respectability To be respectable was the whole duty of a gentleman Although Timothy Shelley was prepared to do anything within reason for Bysshe, and to provide handsomely for him, his feelings had been trampled on and his sense of dignity injured Mrs Shelley likewise had her fears "My Mother imagines me to be in the high road to Pandemonium, she fancies I want to make a deistical coterie of all my little sisters how laughable!" And it was, perhaps, for Bysshe had told Hogg that he did not communicate to Elizabeth all his speculations, and on another occasion he withheld a letter which his friend had sent apparently to guide her on some speculative matter

One should not so much blame Mr Timothy Shelley and his wife for their attitude, as deplore the irony of fate that enabled an old-fashioned, middle-aged squire to beget in the reign of George the Third a son of Bysshe's temperament and genius

Before Bysshe returned to Oxford other troubles arose for him Stockdale, the publisher of *St Irvyne*, had received the confidences of Shelley as well as Hogg, both of whom had placed manuscripts

Philosophic Doubts

in his hands It seems clear that Shelley's manuscript was the *Necessity of Atheism* Hogg's may have been a tale¹ that he had written which Shelley who evinced great interest had urged him to get published In his account of the matter Stockdale tells us Shelley had informed him of a metaphysical essay in support of Atheism that he had completed this he intended to promulgate through the University Stockdale warned him that his expulsion would be the inevitable consequence of so flagrant an insult to such a body He however was unmoved and Stockdale added 'I instantly wrote to his father'

Hogg had called occasionally at Stockdale's shop as Shelley's friend but he failed to make a favourable impression on the publisher who did not consider that he could have led Shelley astray he regarded his mind¹ so infinitely beneath that of his friend Hogg was evidently viewed with suspicion by Stockdale who however had what he may have considered a lucky inspiration He had noticed by Hogg's address that he was connected in some way with the worthy Rev John Dayrell of Lynnington Dayrell not far from Mrs Stockdale's native place he also believed that Shelley was unquestionably in a most devious

¹ Pray publish your tale demand one hundred pounds for it from any publisher—he will give it in the event It is delightful it is divine—not that I like your heroine—but the poor Mary is a character of heaven I adore her' (Shelley to Hogg Jan 3 1811)

Shelley in England

path " Stockdale therefore promptly asked his wife if she knew anything of the young man Whereupon good Mrs Stockdale busied herself in the matter, with the result that her "recollection and enquiry" confirmed the worst suspicions of her husband, who declared, in a manner worthy of the publisher of *St Ivyne*, "that if I did not rush forward, and, however rudely, pull my candidate for the bays from the precipice, over which he was suspended by a hair, his fate must be inevitable "

Mr Timothy Shelley, with Stockdale's letter in his hand, must have questioned Bysshe about his friend and his latest "printing freaks," as they were both calculated to become a source of trouble I do not think it unlikely that he may have tried to help the boy in a fatherly way, to allay his religious doubts Bysshe, however, wrote in anger to Hogg on January 14 "Stockdale has behaved infamously to me he has abused the confidence I reposed in him in sending him my work, and he has made very free with your character, of which he knows nothing, with my father I shall call on Stockdale in my way, that he may explain " And again, three days later "Stockdale certainly behaved in a vile manner to me, no other bookseller would have violated the confidence reposed in him I will talk to him in London, where I shall be on Tuesday [January 22] "

Philosophic Doubts

As she did not take his father's ministrations kindly and gave vent in the same letter to the following unflinching remarks—Your systematic cudgel for block heads is excellent—I tried it on with my father—who told me that thirty years ago he had read Locke—but this made no impression. The *égouttoirs* are all that I can boast of—the *pistole* is swallowed up in the first article of the catalogue. You tell me nothing of the tale—I am all anxiety about it.

These communications naturally roused Hogg & he he had been accused of some unspecified infamy—he was determined to bring the meddling bookseller to account and addressed to him the following letter

T J Hogg to J J Stoddale

OXFORD Jan 1 1811

SIR—I have just heard from a friend to my great surprise that you have made very free with my character to Mr Shelley—I feel it my duty as a gentleman closely to investigate this extraordinary conduct—I ask what there was in my behaviour to you contrary to the strictest politeness what there was to justify such an infamous proceeding?

I insist Sir upon knowing the precise nature the very words of your conversation with Mr S

I insist upon being informed upon what authority you spoke thus of me—I demand a full & perfect apology from yourself—I desire that you should

Shelley in England

immediately write in order to contradict whatever you may have told Mr Shelley or anyone else

When I am informed of the exact nature of the offence I can judge of the necessary apology

The bare mention, of the MS with which I entrusted you to any one was an unparalleled breach of confidence—There may have been instances of booksellers who have honourably refused to betray the authors whose works they have published altho' actions were brought against them I believe that one gentleman had honour enough to submit to the pillory rather than disgrace himself by giving up the name of one who had confided in him, however unworthy he might be of such generous treatment Altho' I might be disposed to pardon this offence against myself, I feel it my duty to caution the world against such flagrant violation of principle

I shall consequently insert in the public newspapers an anonymous advertisement containing a plain statement of the manner in which you have acted An immediate answer to this letter is desired by, Sir, yours &c &c ,

T JEFFERSON HOGG

UNIV COLL

The gentleman who submitted to the pillory was no doubt the long-suffering Peter Finnerty

Mr Timothy Shelley went to London to see Stockdale and find out what was amiss, for, as he wrote in his reply to that worthy man, "I cannot comprehend the meaning of the language you use" He was, however, by no means pleased with the bookseller,



SIR TIMOTHY SHELLEY DART

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Philosophic Doubts

and turning his back on him he proceeded in the direction of Westminster to make inquiries about Hogg

The result was most satisfactory and he returned home evidently in a good humour so Byssie wrote cheerfully to his friend My father prophetic prepossession in your favour is become as high as before it was to your prejudice Whence it arises or from what cause I am inadequate to say I can merely state the fact He came from London full of your praises your family that of Mr Hogg of Norton House near Stockton upon Tees Your principles are *now* as divine as before they were diabolical I tell you this with extreme satisfaction and to sum up the whole he has desired me to make his compliments to you and to invite you to make Field Place your headquarters for the Easter Vacation I hope you will accept of it I fancy he has been talking in town to some of the northern Members of Parliament who are acquainted with your family However that may be I hope you have no other arrangement for Easter which can interfere with granting me the pleasure of introducing you personally here

On his return to Oxford Byssie learnt some further particulars about Stockdale whose reply to Hogg's letter had been so unsatisfactory that he had written again only to receive an equally evasive answer

Shelley in England

Shelley therefore took up the matter himself and wrote

P B Shelley to J J Stockdale

OXFORD, Jan 28, 1811

SIR,—On my arrival at Oxford, my friend Mr Hogg communicated to me the letters which passed in consequence of your misrepresentations of his character, the abuse of that confidence which he invariably reposed in you I now, sir, desire to know whether you mean the evasions in your first letter to Mr Hogg, your insulting *attempt* at coolness in your second, as a means of escaping *safely* from the opprobrium naturally attached to so ungentlemanlike an abuse of confidence (to say nothing of misrepresentation) as that which my father communicated to me, or as a *demi* of the fact of having acted in this unprecedented, this *scandalous* manner If the former be your intention, I will compassionate your cowardice, and my friend, pitying your *weakness*, will take no further notice of your contemptible *attempts* at calumny If the latter is your intention, I feel it my duty to declare, as my veracity and that of my father is thereby called in question, that I will never be satisfied, despicable as I may consider the author of that affront, until my friend has ample apology for the injury you have attempted to do him I expect an immediate, and demand a satisfactory letter —SIR, I am your obedient humble servant,

PERCY B SHELLEY

After Shelley's expulsion from Oxford he wrote to ask Stockdale how many copies had been sold of *St*

Philosophic Doubts

Irvyne and requested him to make out his accounts. The bookseller's reply took some time to reach Shelley who was then at Rhayader. He replied on August 1, 1811. I am sorry to say in answer to your requisition that the state of my finances renders immediate payment perfectly impossible. It is my intention at the earliest period of my power to do so to discharge your account. I am aware of the imprudence of publishing a book so ill digested as *St Irvyne* but are there no exceptions on the profits of its sale? My studies have since writing it been of a more serious nature. I am at present engaged in completing a series of moral and metaphysical essays—perhaps their copyright would be accepted in lieu of part of the debt.

Stockdale very wisely declined this offer but he stated in 1827 in his recollections of Shelley that he did not question his intention of paying the account for the publication of *St Irvyne* and that it was his conviction that Shelley would vegetate rather than live to effect the discharge of every honest claim upon him. Recognising that there was little to be hoped from Shelley he applied to his father who said that his son was not of age and that he would never pay a farthing of the account. So it was never settled.

Pondering alone at Field Place over his conversa

Shelley in England

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Shelley in England

tions on religion with Bysshe after he had left Oxford, Timothy Shelley was resolved to try to win his son back to the fold. In the letter which he addressed to Bysshe he probably wrote on the evidences of Christianity, having fortified himself during his task with deep draughts from the works of his favourite divine, Paley. In order to show that some men of great mental powers have been Christians, he cited the instances, among others, of Locke and Newton. Bysshe's reply is the first of a series of unpublished letters which I shall print in the following pages.

P B Shelley to Timothy Shelley

UNIV COLL OX, Feb 6, 1810

[misdated for 1811]

MY DEAR FATHER,—Your very excellent exposition on the subject of Religion pleases me very much. I have seldom seen ideas of Orthodoxy so clearly defined. You have proved to my complete satisfaction that those who do not think at all, a species which contains by far the major part of even uncivilised society, ought to be restrained by the bonds of *prejudicative* religion, by which I mean that it is best that they should follow the religion of their fathers whatever it may be, not having sufficient principle to discharge their duties without leaning on some support, a slight support being better than none at all. So much for the beings who ought to take things upon trust, But after a rational being, or rather a being

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possessing *capabilities* for super-added *rationality* has proceeding to perfectibility passed that point before which he could not or used not to reason after which he both *did* reason and took interest in the inferences which he drew *from* that reason Do you then deny him to *use* that reason in the very point which is most momentous to his present to his future happiness in the very point which is being of greater importance demands a superior energization of that most distinguishing faculty of man You cannot deny him *that* which is or ought to be the essence of his being you cannot deny it him without taking away that *essentia* and leaving him not an animal *rationalis* but '*irrationalis*' retaining no distinguishing characteristic of '*Man*' but animal bipeds implume *risibile* —I then have passed that point because I *do* reason on the subject I *do* take interest in that reasoning and from that reasoning I have adduced to my own I think I could to your *private* satisfaction that the testimony of the twelve Apostles is insufficient to establish the truth of their doctrine not to mention how much *weaker* the evidence must become when filtered thro so many gradations of history so many ages

Supposing twelve men were to make an affidavit before you that they had seen in Africa a vast snake three miles long suppose they swore that this snake eat nothing but Elephants and that you knew from all the laws of nature that enough Elephants could not exist to sustain the snake would you believe them? The case is the same it is clearly therefore proved that we cannot if we *consider* it believe facts inconsistent with the general laws of Nature that there is

Shelley in England

no evidence sufficient, or rather that evidence is insufficient to prove such facts I could give you a methodical proof if you desire it, or think this to be inconclusive

As to Locke, Newton, etc., being Christians, I will relate an anecdote of the latter. At Cambridge he kept chickens, and making a Box for them he provided a large hole for the Hen to go out of, smaller ones for the chickens. What an inconsistency for a Genius who was searching into the mechanism of the Universe. Locke's Christianity cannot *now* appear so surprising, particularly if we mention Voltaire, Lord Kames, Mr Hume, Rousseau, Dr Adam Smith, Dr Franklin et *mille alios*, all of whom were Deists, the life of all of whom was characterised by the strictest morality all of whom whilst they lived were the subjects of panygeric [*sic*], were the directors of literature and morality. *Truth*, whatever it may be, has never been known to be prejudicial to the best interests of mankind, nor was there ever a period of greater tranquillity in which the name of Religion was not even mentioned. Gibbon's History of the decline and fall of the Roman empire proves this truth satisfactorily.

Thus far, my dear Father, have I thought it necessary to explain to you my sentiments, to explain to you upon what they are founded, as far as the imperfect medium of a letter will allow. At some leisure moment may I request to hear your objections (if any yet remain) to my private sentiments—"Religion fetters a reasoning mind with the very bonds which restrain the unthinking one from mischief." This is my great objection to it. The coming of Christ was called *εὐαγγέλιον* [*sic*] or good tidings, it is hard to believe

Philosophic Doubts

how those tidings *could* be *good* which are to condemn more than half of the world to the Devil for as St Athanasius says He who does not believe should go into eternal fire —As if belief were voluntary or an action not a passion (as it is) of the mind I will now conclude this letter as knowing your dislike to long scrawls I fear I must have tired you Believe me whatever may be my sentiments Yrs most dutiful affect

P B SHELLEY

[Addressed]

T SHELLEY ESQ, M P
Miller's Hotel
Westr Bridge
London

Postmark OXFORD
8 Feb 1811

[Readdressed] Horsham Sussex

Mr Timothy Shelley apparently wrote to inform Bysshe of the death of his aunt Mrs Sidney who was the wife of Timothy's half brother afterwards Sir John Shelley Sidney of Penshurst He also seems to have given some paternal counsel on the subject of attending College lectures In the following letter perhaps the last addressed to his father on an entirely friendly footing Bysshe reassured him that he was on the right road and that whatever doubts he might himself entertain there was no fear of him trying to convert the University Mr Shelley had suggested that Bysshe should enter into competition for the Prize Poem the subject being 'Parthenon In

Shelley in England

order to help him, "he had induced a distinguished scholar, a considerable antiquary and an eminent man, the Rev Edward Dallaway, vicar of Leatherhead, secretary to the Earl Marshal, and the historian of the county of Sussex, to furnish a long letter, accompanied with sketches and much valuable information relative to the subject" Bysshe actually began to compose the poem, but he was sent away from Oxford before the time arrived for submitting his attempt to the judges¹ And in this reply Bysshe promised to meet his father's wishes, that he should submit his verses to Mr Dallaway The prize was awarded to Richard Burdon of Oriel College In his letter to Hogg of July 28, 1811, Shelley offers some criticism on Burdon's poem, and says, "It is certainly admirable as an architectural poem, but do not let *me* be considered *envious* when I say, that it appears to me to want energy, since the very idea of my being able to write like it is eminently ludicrous I wonder whether B is a fool or a hypocrite, he must be the latter"

The whole of the letter is satisfactory, even to the sanguine news about the sale of *St Irvyne*, and it shows that Shelley was anxious to please his father and resume the old footing of confidence

¹ Hogg, vol 1 p 317

Philosophic Doubts

P B Shelley to Timothy Shelley

OXFORD 17th Feb 1811

MY DEAR FATHER—I suppose that by this time you are at Horsham I dress in black for the late Mrs Sidney her death was certainly a necessary consequence of her complaint

Mr Rolleston's logic lectures yet continue as to divinity it is a study which I have very minutely investigated in order to detect to my own satisfaction the impudent and inconsistent falsehoods of priest craft I am in consequence perfectly prepared to meet any examination on the subject It is needless to observe that in the Schools Colleges etc which are all on the principle of Inquisitorial Orthodoxy with respect to matters of belief I shall perfectly coincide with the opinions of the learned Doctors although by the very rules of reasoning which their own *systems* of logic teach me I *could* refute their errors I shall not therefore publicly come under the act De heretico comburendo

I have not yet finished Parthenon I hope I shall make it a Poem such as you would advise me to subject to Mr Dallaway's criticism *St Irvyne* sells fast at Oxford—I am My dear Father your very dutiful affect

PERCY B SHELLEY

[Addressed outside]

T SHELLEY Esq

Field Place

M P Horsham Sussex

On his return to Oxford Shelley resumed his studies and although his mind was occupied as we have seen

Philosophic Doubts

them into the tent with the agility and ease of one who had been accustomed to dwell in such narrow tenements

A devoted student of *Plato* he used to say that every true Platonist must be a lover of children as he truly was His belief in pre existence is shown by the following story One Sunday after Shelley and Hogg had been reading *Plato* together they encountered a woman carrying a child in her arms on *Magdalen Bridge* Without ceremony Shelley seized hold of the child and its mother fearing that he intended throwing it into the water held it fast by the clothes Will your baby tell us anything about pre existence Madam? he asked in a piercing voice and with a wistful look As she did not reply he repeated the question when she said He cannot speak Shelley exclaimed But surely he can if he will for he is only a few weeks old He may fancy perhaps that he cannot but it is only a silly whim he cannot have for gotten entirely the use of speech in so short a time the thing is absolutely impossible The woman replied meekly It is not for me to dispute with you gentlemen but I can safely declare that I never heard him speak nor any child indeed of his age After making some remark about the healthy appearance of the child Shelley walked on and with a deep sigh said How provokingly close are these new born babes!

Shelley in England

Hogg, who observes that Shelley was commonly indifferent to matters of dress, has recorded an occasion on which he showed an exceptional interest in a coat. Calling at his friend's rooms one morning at the usual hour, he found him standing in the middle of the room in a new blue coat with gilt buttons, while his tailor (who had promised to send home a new coat the previous evening and had not done so to Shelley's disappointment) was now extolling the beauty of the garment. The tailor having departed, Shelley took up his hat and went forth with Hogg, who questioned the prudence of walking in the fields in such splendid attire. Hogg's fears were well grounded, for, in picking their way through a muddy farmyard a mastiff which had stolen upon them unheard, and without so much as a growl or bark, seized Shelley by the skirts of his coat. Both Hogg and Shelley kicked the unwelcome beast off, but not before the skirts had almost been severed from the waist. Shelley finished the work by rending them completely asunder, and he appeared to be more angry than Hogg had ever seen him either before or since that incident. He threatened to return with pistols to shoot the unfortunate dog, and proceeded home carrying the skirts of the coat on his arm. But at length he stopped short and, spreading out the skirts on a hedge, he looked

Philosophic Doubts

at them for a few moments and continued his march

When Hogg suggested that they should take the skirts with them Shelley replied despondently 'No let them remain as a spectacle for men and gods' They returned to Oxford and reached their College by the back streets At Shelley's appearance his astonished scout inquired for the skirts so that he might carry the damaged garment at once to the tailor But Shelley's pensive reply was that they are upon the hedge The scout seemed to be on the point of running forth instantly in quest of them when Hogg like a conjurer drew the skirts from his pocket In the evening when they were sitting over their tea the tailor brought back the coat so skilfully repaired that it easily won Shelley's admiration

Prior has printed in his *Life of Goldsmith* some of the bills of Mr Filby who fashioned the immortal plum coloured coat for the little Doctor There is a precedent therefore for printing the following old tailor's bill for clothes supplied to Shelley which has survived the usual fate of such documents and especially as one of the garments mentioned in it appears to be that which figures in the above story

Shelley in England

1810-1811

P B Shelley, Esqr, Unwv Coll

To Willm & Richd Dry

1810

Nov 1	A Superfine Olive Coat Gilt Buttns	4	8	0
	A Pair Rich Silk Knitt Pantaloon	3	8	0
	A Pair Rich Silk Knitt Breeches	2	12	0
	Two Stripd Marcela Waistcoats Double Breastd	2	0	0
9	Mending a pair of Breeches			4
Dec 10	Mending two pair do	0	1	0

1811

Feb 28	1 Pair Patent Silk Braces	0	8	0
March 2	A Pair mixt Double milld Worsted Pantaloon	1	15	0
	A Pair fine Blue Ribbd Worsted do	1	16	0
14	A Pair gloves		4	0
21	A Pair do		3	0
23	A Superfine Blue Coat Velvett Collr & Gilt Buttns	4	12	0
	A Pair Fine Worsted Pantaloon	1	15	
	A Pair Stout Cord Breeches	1	7	
	A Figd Marcela Waistcoat	1	0	0
25	Mending a pair Pantaloon			8

£25 10 0

Philosophic Doubts

The following receipt is annexed to the above

January 11 1813 [error for 1814] Recd of Wm
Whitton Esq for P B Shelley Esqr Twenty five
pound ten shilling for the acct of Mess Dry Taylors
Oxford
JOSEPH KRAVIERLEY

£25 10 0

The last item in this account bears the actual date
of Shelley's expulsion

CHAPTER IX

EXPULSED FROM OXFORD

Political Justice, its message to and influence on Shelley—His letter to Leigh Hunt—Shelley's prospects of entering Parliament—Mr Hobbes and his poem *The Widower*—*The Necessity of Atheism*—Shelley learns printing—The object of the syllabus—"Jeremiah Stukeley"—The publication of *The Necessity*—Munday & Slatter—Rev John Walker's advice—Shelley and Hogg expelled—Accounts of the transaction—They leave Oxford

WHILE at Eton, Shelley had borrowed from Dr Lind his copy of *Political Justice*, and the book no doubt formed the subject of many conversations and warm discussions between the old doctor and his young friend. Shelley was of an impressionable age, the influence of this work on his mind and character was powerful and lasting, and he acknowledged the debt in his second letter to Godwin¹

"It is now a period of more than two years," he wrote, "since first I saw your inestimable book on *Political Justice*, it opened to my mind fresh and more extensive views, it materially influenced my character, and I rose from its perusal a wiser and a better man. I was no longer the Votary of romance,

¹ Shelley to Godwin, Jan 10, 1812

Expelled from Oxford

till then I had existed in an ideal world—now I found that in this universe of ours was enough to excite the interest of the heart enough to employ the discussions of reason I beheld in short that I had duties to perform Conceive the effect which the *Political Justice* would have upon a mind before jealous of its independence and participating somewhat singularly in a peculiar susceptibility

On taking up the study of metaphysics with Hogg at Oxford Shelley's interest in *Political Justice* was revived as we find that he wrote on November 19 1810 to request Stockdale to send him a copy of the book It is likely that he gave it closer attention at the University than he did during his Eton days and that his reference to its influence in his letter to Godwin applies specially to the later period

The primary effect of *Political Justice* on Shelley was to cause him to think and he did not overestimate its importance as an influence on his character It is not possible to understand Shelley's state of mind at this time without taking *Political Justice* into account Among other things he was made to realise something about the wretched social condition of the poorer classes

Offences against property have always been dealt with severely in England but in the eighteenth century delinquents were punished with inhuman cruelty

Shelley in England

Thieves and suspected thieves were commonly hanged, irrespective of age or sex. The press-gang was in operation, and flogging in the Navy and Army of frequent occurrence. The cost of food was high, wages were low and the hours of work long. Women, especially of the poorer classes, had practically no means of redressing wrongs, and children were permitted to toil without restriction as to time at dangerous occupations. Little boys, the younger the better, were sent up chimneys to clean them.

That such a state of affairs should prevail in Christian England had caused Shelley to blame Christianity. He also learnt something from Godwin's habit of stating the most unpalatable facts unflinchingly and in all their ugly nakedness. An uncompromising advocate of the liberties and rights of the classes that were unrepresented by Parliament and neglected by the Church, Godwin was one of the first to reawaken in this country, by his book, sympathy for the cause of the common people. *Political Justice* had appeared in 1793, the year of the Terror, while the sensibility of the public was easily moved. When this book fell into Shelley's hands in 1810, England had not only neglected to follow its lessons but had put it on the shelf, and Godwin was more widely known as the author of his novel *Caleb Williams*.

Expelled from Oxford

But England was not entirely apathetic in 1811 the claims of a large section of the poorer classes were becoming more and more urgent and these claims had their supporters though some of them were little better than demagogues Leigh Hunt however was a sincere though perhaps not always a very tactful champion of the people's cause who week by week pursued in his newspaper *The Examiner* a course of warfare in favour of free speech and against the privileged classes The campaign was not conducted without danger Hunt disdained to mince his words and on two occasions the Government had instituted prosecutions against him both of which had failed An article on Military flogging which was reprinted in *The Examiner* for February 24 1811 from a provincial newspaper with the title One thousand Lashes had resulted in another Government prosecution against Leigh Hunt as editor and his brother John Hunt as printer of the paper But Brougham who stoutly defended the Hunts obtained for them a verdict of Not Guilty

We have seen that Shelley had begun to show an active interest in the cause of free speech by contributing to the fund in aid of Peter Fennerty and he seems to have been hardly less interested in the prosecution of the Hunts Full of enthusiasm he wrote

Shelley in England

to Leigh Hunt as editor of *The Examiner*, from Oxford, on March 2

“Permit me, although a stranger, to offer my sincerest congratulations on the occasion of the triumph, so highly to be prized by men of liberality, permit me also to submit to your consideration, as one of the most fearless enlighteners of the public mind at the present time, a scheme of mutual safety, and mutual indemnification for men of public spirit and principle, which, if carried into effect, would evidently be productive of incalculable advantages of the scheme the following is an address to the public, the proposal for a meeting, and shall be modified according to your judgment, if you will do me the honour to consider the point

“The ultimate intention of my aim is to induce a meeting of such enlightened and unprejudiced members of the community, whose independent principles expose them to evils which might thus be alleviated, and to form a methodical society, which should be organized so as to resist the coalition of the enemies of liberty, which at present render any expression of opinion on matters of policy dangerous to individuals. It has been for want of societies of this nature, that corruption has attained the height at which we now behold it, nor can any of us bear in mind the very great influence, which some years since was gained by *Illuminism*, without considering that a society of equal extent might establish national liberty on as firm a basis as that which would have supported the visionary schemes of a completely equalized community

Expelled from Oxford

Although perfectly unacquainted with you privately I address you as a common friend to *liberty* thinking that in the case of this urgency and importance etiquette ought not to stand in the way of usefulness

My father is in parliament and on attaining twenty one I shall in all probability fill his vacant seat On account of the responsibility to which my residence in the University subjects me I of course dare not publicly avow all I think but the time will come when I hope that my every endeavour insufficient as this may be will be directed to the advancement of liberty

Professor Dowden explained Shelley's reference to Illuminism as probably the result of his having read in the Abbe Barruel's *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme* how Spartacus Weishaupt founded the Society of Illuminists not so many years ago for the defence and propagation of free thought and revolutionary principles, [and] he remembers how formidable that society had grown ¹

•Not the least interesting portion of this letter is the passage dealing with Shelley's prospect of becoming a Member of Parliament and with the danger which he desired to avoid of avowing opinions that would not be acceptable to the authorities at Oxford The circumstances therefore that subsequently caused his

¹ Dowden's *Lf of Shelley* vol 1 p 112

Shelley in England

expulsion from Oxford were not the result of a deliberate plan on his part to bring about that misfortune. After he left Oxford he might still have entered Parliament had he chosen to become a party man, but the prospect had ceased to attract him, he probably recognised that he could not give his allegiance to any party represented in the House, where there was no place then for independent members.

Shelley frequently went into the shop of Munday & Slatter, the Oxford printers, in regard to his literary projects, and they, like Stockdale, becoming alarmed at the tone of his conversation, in the words of Mr Henry Slatter¹ "used more than ordinary endeavours to reclaim the waywardness of his imagination," and they applied to Mr Hobbes, a literary friend, to talk to him. This Mr Hobbes "undertook to analyze" Shelley's arguments, and "endeavoured to refute them philosophically." Slatter tells us that, although Mr Hobbes "appeared to make a strong impression at the time," Shelley at length declared "that he would rather meet any or all the dignitaries of the Church than one philosopher," and declined to reply in writing to the philosophical arguments of Slatter's literary friend. On turning to a poetical production

¹ "*Oxford*, a poem by Robert Montgomery. Fourth Edition. Oxford, 1835. With biographical recollections," to which Henry Slatter contributed a letter to the author containing some interesting reminiscences of Shelley.

Expelled from Oxford

of Mr Hobbes entitled *The Widower* published anonymously in 1812 by Munday & Slatter it is not difficult to see why Shelley refused to pursue the argument One extract from this work will suffice namely that which he describes in his synopsis as Vicious infidels addressed

Deem ye my verse too serious—still too grave ?
Fain would my muse employ her calmer powers
Persuasive reason's force if haply she
Might urge your heedless feet from erring ways
To tread reclaim'd in virtue's sacred path

Say then ye scoffers of religion, whose
Dread laugh proceeds from deep depravity
And wicked hate of all that's good rather
Than from settled disbelief resulting
From evestigating [sic] studious research
Tis infidelity of heart sensual
Its character not infidelity
Of intellect a principle of mind —
Say then ye giddy votaries of vice
Who scorn alike the robe of sanctity
And virtue's diadem are nature's laws
Unfixed and mutable ? Can man with all
His boasted powers arrest or change their course
In order to effect some different design ?

The rest of the poem is no better and it is therefore unlikely that Mr Hobbes philosophy was superior to his verse

During Shelley's first term at Oxford he read together with Hogg several metaphysical works such as Locke *On the Human Understanding* and Hume's *Essays*

Shelley in England

Of these works they prepared careful analyses which, said Hogg, although their joint production, were in Shelley's handwriting, and remained in his custody. From these papers he drew up, perhaps at Field Place during the Christmas vacation, the small "metaphysical essay in support of Atheism," in regard to which, as we have already seen, he had approached Stockdale. This publisher, so far from agreeing to issue the pamphlet, had promptly written in alarm to Shelley's father.

Stockdale having failed him as a publisher, Shelley either sent or took the manuscript to C & W Phillips, the Worthing printers, from whose press had issued his first volume of verse, the *Original Poetry of Victor and Cazire*. An interesting sidelight is thrown on the printing of this book and the *Necessity* by the extract from a letter of Mr Barclay Phillips to Dr Clair J Grece, which is given by Messrs Thomas J Wise and Percy Vaughan in their introduction to a reprint of Shelley's pamphlet¹ "The active member of the firm," they say, "was an intelligent brisk young woman, with whom Shelley was on very good terms." Mr Barclay Phillips writes of her "She was amiable and clever. She thoroughly learned 'the art and mystery of printing,' and did much of the printing herself.

¹ *The Necessity of Atheism*. A reprint of the original edition. Issued by the Rationalist Press Association by arrangement with the Shelley Society. Watts & Co., London, 1906.

Expelled from Oxford

At one time (eighty years ago) my Aunt Philadelphia Phillips lived with us at Brighton. I there frequently heard her talk of Shelley. She said he took great interest in the art of printing and would often come in and spend hours in the printing office learning to set up the types and help my cousin (the daughter)

Shelley as a compositor sitting on a high stool over the type cases is a character in which the poet has not hitherto been described. It does not seem however to be at all out of keeping with the trend of his mind that he should wish to master the details of typography. He was not satisfied with a theoretical knowledge of chemistry and electricity but always took pleasure in practical experiments. He probably soon acquired an elementary knowledge of printing. It is not known whether he actually set up the type for the *Necessity of Atheism* a very rough piece of work which might well have been the production of some prentice hand.

In getting his essay printed Shelley had a specific purpose. He had continued Hogg tells us his practice of writing to public men on religious matters and his correspondence had increased so that the arrival of the postman was always an anxious moment with him. At Eton he began to address inquiries on subjects of chemistry anonymously or rather that he might receive an answer as Philalethes and the like but as postmen do not ordinarily understand

Shelley in England

Greek, "to prevent miscarriages, it was necessary to adopt a more familiar name, as John Short or Thomas Long" He kept up the practice at Oxford, and he intended to utilise his little printed extract of some of the doctrines of Hume to assist him in his correspondence "It was a small pill, but it worked powerfully" his mode of operation was to enclose a copy of the pamphlet with a letter bearing a London address, in which he stated "with modesty and simplicity, that he had met accidentally with the little tract, which appeared unhappily to be quite unanswerable" If this appeal secured a refutation, by way of answer, Shelley "in a vigorous reply would fall upon the unwary disputant and break his bones" Sometimes the attack "provoked a rejoinder more carefully prepared, when an animated and protracted debate ensued" He seemed to attach a potency to the three letters Q E D with which the pamphlet concludes, and had often remarked to Hogg, "if you ask a friend to dinner, and only put Q E D at the end of the invitation, he cannot refuse to come"

Although we are told that "he loved dearly victory in debate, and warm debate for its own sake,"¹ the

¹ Hogg (i 275), who adds "Never was there a more unexceptional disputant, he was eager beyond the most ardent, but never angry and never personal he was the only arguer I ever knew who drew every argument from the nature of the thing, and who could never be provoked to descend to personal contentions"

Expelled from Oxford

object of his inquiries was to endeavour to obtain an indisputable proof of the truth of his theories. His belief in Deism had failed and he had become as he told Godwin¹ in the popular sense of the word God an atheist.

Shelley did not neglect to test the powers of his pamphlet and he informed Henry Slatter² a statement which is supported by Medwin that he had sent a copy to every bishop in the Kingdom to the Vice Chancellor and to other dignitaries besides the heads of houses in Oxford addressing them under the fictitious signature of Jeremiah Stukeley.

Apparently the earliest public announcement of *The Necessity of Atheism* is that which appeared on February 9 in the *Oxford University and City Herald* where the tract was advertised by its title and it was stated 'Speedily will be published to be had of all booksellers of London and Oxford'. On the 13th of the same month Shelley wrote to Graham evidently with reference to *The Necessity* and said 'I send you a book you must be particularly intent about it. Cut out the title page and advertise it in eight famous papers and in the *Globe* advertise the advertisement in the third page. I wish you to be particularly quick about it. I will write more to morrow. Now can

¹ In his letter dated Jan. 10 1812.

² Cf. Montgomery's *Oxford* (4th ed. 1835) p. 168.

Shelley in England

only say silence and dispatch " There is another letter to Graham, with no more definite date than 1811, but it was apparently written after February 13, for Shelley says, as if he were cancelling his former request " You need not advertise the Atheism, as it is not yet published, we are afraid of the Legislature's power with respect to Heretics "

Shelley's connection with the tract was soon known at Oxford, though to what extent it is not possible to say However, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe knew about it on March 15, for on that date he wrote from Christ Church, " Our Apollo next came out with a prose pamphlet in praise of Atheism, which I have not yet seen "

That Sharpe knew Shelley personally is probable, but they had little in common, and there is no reason for supposing that they were more than acquaintances The Rev W K R Bedford, the biographer of this minor " Horace Walpole," with rather more vehemence than was necessary, said that Sharpe while admitting the genius of Shelley's writings had for him " an intrinsic loathing " In a copy of Lady Charlotte Bury's *Memoirs*, Sharpe scribbled on the margin of a page containing an anecdote of the poet—" Mr S was a strange tatterdemalion looking figure, dressed like a scarecrow, he had no credit for talents at Oxford, where he was thought to be insane "

Expelled from Oxford

And in an undated letter after 1819 he wrote

I send you the *Cenci* written by that wicked wretch Shelley and well written I remember him at Oxford mad and bad—and trying to persuade people that he lived on arsenic and aqua fortis '1

Slatter tells us that Shelley himself strewed the windows and counters of Munday's shop without their knowledge with copies of *The Necessity* and gave instructions to their shopman to sell the pamphlet as fast as he could at a charge of sixpence a copy Apparently little time was given for these operations for a judicious friend of the booksellers the Rev John Walker Fellow of New College happened to drop in to the shop The title of the pamphlet attracted his notice after examining it he asked to see Messrs Munday & Slatter and at once drew their attention to its dangerous tendency He counselled them to destroy the copies forthwith which advice they agreed to adopt and promptly proceeded with Mr Walker to the back kitchen where the offending pamphlets were burnt They also sent a friendly hint to the printers C & W Phillips of Worthing warning them of the danger of circulating the pamphlet and of the liability they ran of a prosecution by the Attorney General and advising them to destroy

Shelley in England

every remaining copy together with the MS and types¹

In the meantime the booksellers had sent to ask Shelley to come to their house. He came instantly, and found that Councillor Clifford "of O P notoriety" was with them. The subject was broached by the booksellers and councillors, who all proceeded, "first by entreaties, and next by threats, to dissuade Shelley from the error of his ways, for the sake of himself, his

¹ The following letter, found among the Shelley Whitton papers, was never sent. It is curious as showing that a prosecution was contemplated, and that Mr Shelley was evidently alarmed lest other publications, similar to *The Necessity of Atheism*, should appear from Messrs Phillips's press.

William Whitton to C & W Phillips

10 GREAT JAMIES STREET, BEDFORD ROW,

April 13, 1811

GENT,—I have a publication before me intitled "The Necessity of Atheism," which was printed by you, and by which you have been instrumental to two young students of Oxford being expelled their college, and you must therefore know that you have done to them and to their families an injury for which no sacrifice within your power can compensate. I have been informed that a prosecution is intended against you, and my motive for writing this to you is to caution you against incurring further censure and responsibility, and heaping difficulties upon the two young men by any attempt to put to the press any other work from the same authors or at their instance. How you could venture to give publicity to such blasphemous work at the instance of a stripling only nineteen years of age, whose father and mother you must have known, without the least communication with them, must be a matter of astonishment and surprise to every one.

If you have in your possession any manuscripts for publication from the same author, it is my strong recommendation to you to retain them, and not to proceed in the printing thereof—I am, your obedient servant,

WM WHITTON

Expelled from Oxford

friends and connections all seemed of no avail—he appeared to glory in the course he had adopted ¹ Slatter adds that Shelley's conduct became so unguarded that he was suspected as the author of the pamphlet and also of having sent a copy to the head of his own college. The distribution of the tract as we shall see was attended with serious consequences.

In the following passage from Shelley's letter to Godwin in which he sketched his early life he also summed up his short University career and related the cause which brought it to an abrupt conclusion.

I went to Oxford he wrote. Oxonian society was insipid to me uncongenial with my habits of thinking. I could not descend to common life the sublime interest of poetry lofty and exalted achievements the proselytism of the world the equalisation of its inhabitants were to me the soul of my soul. You can probably form some idea of the contrast exhibited to my character by those with whom I was surrounded. Classical reading and poetical writing employed me during my residence at Oxford.

In the meantime I became in the popular sense of the word God an Atheist. I printed a pamphlet avowing my opinions and its occasion. I distributed this anonymously to men of thought and learning.

¹ Montgomerie's *Oxford* (4th ed. 1835) p. 168.

Shelley in England

wishing that Reason should decide on the case at issue it never was my intention to deny it Mr Copleston at Oxford, among others, had the pamphlet, he showed it to the Master and Fellows of University College, and I was sent for I was informed, that in case I denied the publication, no more would be said I refused and was expelled " ¹

The Reverend Edward Copleston, who subsequently became Bishop of Llandaff, was a Fellow of Oriel and Professor of Poetry in 1811 From Shelley he probably received a copy of *The Necessity of Atheism* with a letter, and more vigilant than other recipients of the pamphlet he tracked its author to University College Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe ² of Christ Church knew that Shelley was author of the pamphlet, and probably others at Oxford were equally well-informed If any doubt existed in the minds of the Master and Fellows of University College, a comparison of the letter which accompanied the tract

¹ Shelley to Godwin, Jan 10, 1812

² Another reference to *The Necessity of Atheism* is to be found in a letter written by C Kirkpatrick Sharpe from Oxford, and printed in Lady Charlotte Bury's anonymous *Diary Illustrative of the Reign of George the Fourth*, 1838, vol 1 p 88 " Meanwhile, be it known unto you that the ingenious Mr Shelley hath been expelled from the University on account of his Atheistical pamphlet Was ever such bad taste and barbarity known? He behaved like a hero, 'he showed to Fortune's frowns a brow serene,' and declared his intention of emigrating to America "—October 1811

Expelled from Oxford

with Shelley's handwriting supplied them with the necessary proof of identity

Hogg's description of Shelley's expulsion is vivid and must be given in his own words though written more than twenty years after the actual event it seems to be fairly accurate except that Shelley states that he refused to deny the authorship of *The Necessity*, a statement which Mr Ridley's account also supports

Lent term of 1811 was drawing to a close Shelley and Hogg had planned a course of reading and had agreed to meet at an earlier hour than usual in order to get through their studies before the vacation On March 25 Lady Day a fine spring morning Hogg called at Shelley's rooms he was absent but soon returned and in a state of agitation Hogg inquired anxiously what was amiss and Shelley exclaimed after he had recovered himself a little 'I am expelled ! I was sent for suddenly a few minutes ago I went to the Common room where I found our Master [Dr Griffith] and two or three of the Fellows The Master produced a copy of the little syllabus and asked me if I were the author of it He spoke in a rude abrupt and insolent tone I begged to be informed for what purpose he put the question No answer was given but the Master loudly and angrily repeated

'Are you the author of this book ?'

Shelley in England

“ ‘ If I can judge from your manner,’ I said, ‘ you are resolved to punish me, if I should acknowledge that it is my work If you can prove that it is, produce your evidence , it is neither just nor lawful to interrogate me in such a case and for such a purpose Such proceedings would become a court of inquisitors, but not free men in a free country ’

“ ‘ Do you choose to deny that this is your composition ? ’ the Master reiterated in the same rude and angry voice

“ Shelley complained much of his violent and ungentlemanly deportment, saying

“ ‘ I have experienced tyranny and injustice before, and I well know what vulgar violence is , but I have never met with such unworthy treatment I told him calmly, but firmly, that I was determined not to answer any questions respecting the publication on the table He immediately repeated his demand , I persisted in my refusal , and he said furiously

“ ‘ Then you are expelled , and I desire you will quit the College early to-morrow morning at the latest ’

“ ‘ One of the Fellows took up two papers, and handed one of them to me , here it is ’ He produced a regular sentence of expulsion, drawn up in due form, under the seal of the College ”

Shelley “ sat on the sofa, repeating, with convulsive

Expelled from Oxford

vehemence the word "Expelled expelled" his head shaking with emotion and his whole frame quivering.

Hogg justly indignant, motions to and so illegal did the outrage seem, was resolved to stand by his friend, and at once wrote a short note to the Master and Fellows asking them to reconsider their sentence. The convocate was still sitting when the note reached them. Hogg was instantly sent for and on his arrival he was asked by the Master, as Shelley had been, if he had written the tract. Hogg said that he pointed out the unfairness of the question and the injustice in punishing Shelley for refusing to answer it. No one spoke except the Master who told Hogg to retire and consider whether he was resolved to persist in refusing to answer the question, but he had scarcely passed the door when he was recalled. The Master again showed him the book and again asked if he was the author of it. Hogg once more declined to admit or deny his responsibility for its publication, at which the Master exclaimed angrily in a loud great voice.

Then you are expelled. As in Shelley's case, a formal sentence signed and sealed was handed to him and he was told to quit the College at an early hour on the following day.

Peacock in writing of the expulsion stated that Hogg's account differed materially from that which Shelley gave of the transaction. Making all allow

Shelley in England

ance," he says, "for the degree in which his imagination coloured the past, there is one matter of fact which remains inexplicable. According to him, his expulsion was a great matter of form and solemnity, there was a sort of public assembly, before which he pleaded his own cause, in a long oration, in the course of which he called on the illustrious spirits who had shed glory on those walls to look down on their degenerate successors. Now, the inexplicable matter to which I have alluded is this: he showed me an Oxford newspaper, containing a full report of the proceedings, with his own oration at great length. I suppose the pages of that diurnal were not deathless, and that it would now be vain to search for it, but that he had it, and showed it to me, is absolutely certain. His oration may have been, as some of Cicero's published orations were, a speech in the potential mood, one which might, could, should, or would, have been spoken: but how in that case it got into the Oxford newspaper passes conjecture."

Peacock's statements are generally reliable, but the search which has been made for the report has proved fruitless.

These proceedings, as narrated by Hogg, can be compared with an independent account written by Mr C J Ridley, junior Fellow of University College, who became Fellow in 1813. Ridley's letter, which

Expelled from Oxford

is undated describes the affair from his recollection some time after the event and is now pasted into the College Register. He said that It was announced one morning at a breakfast party towards the end of Lent Term 1810 [an error it was 1811] that P. B. Shelley who had recently become a member of University College was to be called before a meeting of the Common room for being the supposed author of a pamphlet entitled *The Necessity of Atheism*. This anonymous work consisting of not many pages had been studiously sent to most of the dignitaries of the University and to others more or less connected with Oxford. The meeting took place the same day and it was understood that the pamphlet together with some notes sent with it in which the supposed author's handwriting appeared identified with that of P. B. Shelley was placed before him. He was asked if he could or would deny the obnoxious production as his. No direct reply was given either in the affirmative or negative. Shelley having quitted the room T. J. Hogg immediately appeared voluntarily on his part to state that if Shelley had anything to do with it he (Hogg) was equally implicated and desired his share of the penalty whatever was inflicted. It has always been supposed that T. J. Hogg wrote the preface. Towards the afternoon a large paper bearing the College seal and signed by the Master

Shelley in England

and Dean was affixed to the hall door, declaring that the two offenders were publicly expelled from the College, for *contumacy in refusing to answer certain questions put to them*. The aforesaid two had made themselves as conspicuous as possible by great singularity of dress, and by walking up and down the centre of the quadrangle, as if proud of their anticipated fate. I believe no one regretted their departure, for there were but few, if any, who were not afraid of Shelley's strange and fantastic pranks, and the still stranger opinions he was known to entertain, but all acknowledged him to [have] been very good-humoured and of kind disposition. T. J. Hogg had intellectual powers to a great extent, but unfortunately mis-directed. He was most unpopular."¹

The Register bears the following entry "*Martin* 25°, 1811. At a meeting of the Master and Fellows held this day it was determined that Thomas Jefferson Hogg and Percy Bisshe Shelley, be publicly expelled for contumaciously refusing to answer questions proposed to them, and for also repeatedly declining to disavow a publication entitled 'The Necessity of Atheism'."

In this peremptory manner was Shelley driven

¹ First given by Professor Dowden in his *Life of Shelley*, and afterwards printed in the *Notebook of the Shelley Society*, Part 1, 1888, pp 99-100

Expelled from Oxford

from the University where his presence and that of his friend Hogg had become a source of discomfort to the dignified wine bibbing dons. Secure in their positions of ease they were too indolent to rouse themselves to the effort of obtaining the confidence of the students or of exercising their personal influence. Having been forced to take notice of the pamphlet to which Copleston had drawn their attention they chose the simplest course of dealing with the case namely of getting rid of the young men as quickly as possible. They devoted half an hour to their dismissal after which they returned to their port and scandal with the smug satisfaction of an unpleasant duty cleverly performed.

Hogg was told that should it be inconvenient for them to quit Oxford immediately they might remain for a time if Shelley would ask permission of the Master to be allowed to delay their departure. But he was too indignant at the insult that he had received to ask for any such favour.¹ Hogg says Shelley had never received any admonition or the slightest hint that his speculations were improper or unplesing to anyone. He was probably unaware of the ministrations of the Rev Mr Walker which were of a semi official character. Shelley might have been amenable

¹ Hogg vol 1 p 287

Shelley in England

to a reproof from the head of his college, and have submitted to the punishment of rustication, at least Hogg seemed to think so

So with heavy hearts Shelley and his friend bade a long farewell to Oxford, and to those hopes which some nine months earlier had seemed so bright. There was much at the University that Shelley appreciated. He enjoyed the comparative liberty of an undergraduate after the restrictions of Eton and Field Place, and the security from interruptions which "the blessings of the oak" ensured. "The oak," he said to Hogg, "alone goes to make this place a paradise." To Oxford he owed the pleasure of knowing T. J. Hogg, the companion of his long rambles and even longer conversations. To him he had remarked, "I can imagine few things that would annoy me more severely than to be disturbed in our tranquil course, it would be a cruel calamity to be interrupted by some untoward accident, to be compelled to quit our calm and agreeable retreat. Not only would it be a sad mortification, but a real misfortune, for if I remain here I shall study more closely and with greater advantage than I could in any other situation that I can conceive. I regret only that the period of our residence is limited to four years, I wish they would revive, for our sake, the old term of six and seven years."

The election of Lord Grenville to the Chancellor-

Expelled from Oxford

ship of the University some months before Shelley went up to Oxford had given rise to bitter feuds. This feeling had died down, but some of it probably still lingered during Shelley's time. Shelley like his father was a Grenvillite and the winning competitor had also received the support of the undergraduates. Lord Grenville's liberalism was odious to the dons who equally disliked him for his disposition to favour Catholic emancipation. The defeated candidate Lord Eldon was a member of University College and Hogg implies that Shelley was 'regarded from the beginning with jealous care' because he delighted in Lord Grenville's policy. The opinions of an undergraduate on such matters are unlikely to have interested the authorities although Shelley's liberal views on politics and religion as well as his eccentric habits undoubtedly excited attention.

CHAPTER X

POLAND STREET

Shelley leaves Oxford with Hogg and arrives in London—Takes lodgings in Poland Street—Visits the Groves—Acquaints Medwin of his expulsion—Kensington Gardens—Dr Abernethy's anatomy lectures—Mr Shelley's letter to Hogg—Bysshe writes to his father—Mr Shelley in London—His conditions—which Bysshe rejects—Mr Shelley and Mr Hogg—R Clarke—Bysshe and Hogg dine with Mr Shelley—Mr William Whitton—Mr Hurst's fruitless intervention—Robert Parker and John Grove talk to Bysshe—Hogg and Bysshe offer proposals—Sir Bysshe Shelley's opinion—Bysshe's place filled at Oxford—Hogg leaves London—Bysshe offers to renounce his interest in the entail—Angry correspondence with Whitton

SHELLEY and Hogg decided to leave Oxford without delay, and after breakfasting on the following morning, March 26, they took their places on the outside of the coach for London. It is stated that Shelley had no money wherewith to defray the expenses of his journey and that he obtained a loan of £20 for that purpose from Slatter, a brother of the Oxford bookseller¹. A lodging for the night was found at a

¹ Henry Slatter stated in his contribution to Montgomery's *Oxford*, 4th ed., that Shelley gave a written memorandum that he had borrowed this sum from Slatter, who subsequently was unable to obtain its repayment. Among the Shelley-Whitton papers there are two receipts signed by Shelley, for ten pounds each from Slatter, and dated respectively March 12 and 23, 1811. As both of these dates are anterior to the expulsion which occurred on March 25, they probably relate to another transaction

Poland Street

coffee house near Piccadilly, and having dined they proceeded for tea to the house of Shelley's cousins the Groves at Lincoln's Inn Fields. The cousins appeared to Hogg taciturn people and Shelley's attempts at conversation were not successful in dispelling their reserve. This is hardly surprising considering that Bysshe was Harriet Grove's rejected suitor and if he gave the reasons for the sudden appearance of himself and his friend in London it would have more than accounted for his cousins' silence.

The next day Hogg and Shelley went in search of lodgings and it proved no easy quest, for Bysshe was difficult to please. He objected to the street cries at one house, and the landlady or the maid at others but at last they came to Poland Street off Oxford Street which captivated the poet as it reminded him of Jane Porter's novel *Thaddeus of Warsaw* and of freedom. They halted at a house where lodgings were announced in the window and there they engaged apartments.

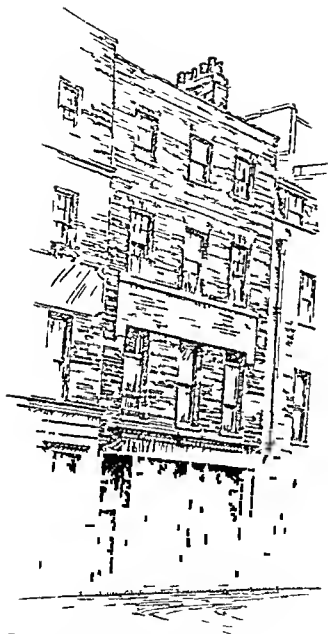
The sitting room on the first floor especially attracted Shelley's fancy. It was somewhat dark and quiet but the walls were covered with a gay paper of trellises, vine leaves with their tendrils and huge clusters of grapes, green and purple, all represented in lively colours. Shelley found this delightful and touching

Shelley in England

the walls said, "We must stay here, stay for ever!" His bedroom, which opened out of the sitting-room, was papered with the same trellis of vines, and, while touching and admiring it, he asked if grapes really grew in that manner anywhere. Hogg, with his practical mind for creature comforts, ordered a fire, and they then fetched their luggage in a hackney coach.

Probably one of Shelley's first thoughts when he arrived in London was to carry the tidings of his misfortune to Medwin, who says "I remember, as if it occurred yesterday, his knocking at my door in Garden Court, in the Temple, at four o'clock in the morning, the second day after his expulsion. I think I hear his cracked voice, with his well-known pipe—'Medwin, let me in, I am expelled', here followed a sort of loud, half-hysteric laugh, and a repetition of the words—'I am expelled,' with the addition of 'for Atheism.' Though greatly shocked I was not much surprised at the news, having been led to augur such a close to his collegiate career from the Syllabus and *The Posthumous Works of Peg Nicholson* which he had sent me"¹ Medwin adds that he visited Shelley at his lodgings and took with

¹ Medwin's *Life of Shelley*, vol. 1 pp 147-8. I have used Professor Dowden's copy of this book, corrected from the author's revised copy, in which he had substituted the last five words for Medwin's original "and the bold avowal of his scepticism." This correction also appears in Mr H. Buxton Forman's new and revised edition of Medwin's *Life of Shelley*.



F ad w r by D C H

15 POLAND STREET OXFORD STREET



Poland Street

him frequent walks in the parks and on the banks of the Serpentine where the poet indulged in his recreation of making ducks and drakes and sailing paper boats. He also relates a story (to illustrate Shelley's habit of somnambulism) of being in Leicester Square one morning at five o'clock when he was attracted by a group of boys collected round a well-dressed person lying near the rails. On coming up to them his curiosity being excited he recognised

Shelley who had unconsciously spent part of the night *sub dio*¹. He could give no account how he got there¹.

Shelley's daily walks with Hogg which had formed such a pleasurable part of his Oxford days were resumed. When on these rambles they would dine at any coffee-house wherever they might chance to be at dinner time and return for tea at their rooms. Occasionally they would take tea or dine at Bysshe's cousins the Groves in Lincoln's Inn Fields or would visit Medwin at Garden Court Temple. The Groves often accompanied Bysshe and Hogg on their walks and John Grove the surgeon took them one Sunday morning into Kensington Gardens where

It is noticeable that Medwin in the Memoir prefixed to *The Shelley Papers* 1833 states that Shelley's visit occurred 'in the morning after his expulsion' and that he had 'been led from the *reveler* of his letters to anticipate some such end to his collegiate career'. The italics are mine.

¹ Medwin's *Life of Shelley* vol. 1, p. 151.

Shelley in England

neither Bysshe nor Hogg had been before “Bysshe was charmed with the sylvan and somewhat neglected aspect of the place, and they soon became a favourite resort. He was especially delighted with the more retired parts of the gardens, and more particularly with one dark nook where there were many old yew trees”¹ Another resort was St James’s Park, where Bysshe used to express great indignation at the sight of the soldiers, as he believed that the maintaining of a standing army was likely to fetter the minds of the people. Charles Grove, at the time, was a medical student, and was attending Mr Abernethy’s anatomy lectures. The study of anatomy, especially after some conversations with John Grove, appealed to Bysshe, and he attended a course of lectures at St Bartholomew’s Hospital with Charles Grove, who, in recalling the incident many years later, thought that Hogg also occasionally went with them. Apparently Bysshe at one time had serious intentions of doing more than merely to study anatomy. In his letter of October 8, 1811, he wrote to Miss Hitchener, “When last I saw you I was about to enter into the profession of physic”

Byron’s *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* had appeared some two years previously and had created a sensation, but neither Bysshe nor Hogg had seen it. One day Bysshe came across the satire in an Oxford

¹ Hogg, vol 1 p 301

Poland Street

Street bookshop and having bought it took the volume with him on one of his country walks with Hogg. He read the whole poem aloud with fervid and exulting energy' and was delighted with the bitter wrathful satire." Hogg seemed to think that this was Bysshe's first introduction to the poetry of Byron but as some of his lines in *St Irvyne* plainly show he must at one time have been familiar with *Hours of Idleness*¹

Bad news travels apace and Mr Timothy Shelley would have been informed by the College authorities at once of his son's disgrace. Apparently the first step that he took was to write the following note to Hogg who as Bysshe's companion in misfortune was no longer a welcome visitor

FIELD PLACE March 27 1811

SIR —The invitation my son wrote me word that you would accept to spend the Easter vacation at Field Place —I am sorry to say the late occurrence at University College must of necessity preclude me that pleasure as I shall have to bear up against the Affliction that such a business has occasioned —I am your very humble servant

T. SHELLEY

¹ Shades of the dead I have I not heard your voices
Rise on the night rolling breath of the gale?

BYRON'S *Lachin y Gair Hours of Idleness* 1807

Ghosts of the dead I have I not heard your yelling
Rise on the night rolling breath of the blast?

SHELLEY in *St Irvyne* 1811

Shelley in England

Three days had elapsed since his expulsion, while Bysshe must have pondered over the inevitable letter which he would have to write to his father, and on the fourth day he accomplished it

The letter, which was addressed from the lodgings of his friend Edward Graham at Vine Street, Piccadilly, is a credit to Shelley, who, with perhaps too much frankness, enclosed with it a copy of *The Necessity of Atheism* for his father's perusal. The pamphlet is still in existence, and bears the word "Impious" on the fly-leaf in the bold handwriting of Timothy Shelley¹

P B Shelley to Timothy Shelley

LONDON, *March 29, 1811*

MY DEAR FATHER,—You have doubtless heard of my misfortune and that of my friend Mr Hogg—it gives me great regret to be deprived of the advantages which Oxford held out to me, but still more when I consider the vivid sympathy which you always have evinced for my errors and distresses and which I now fear must be greatly excited

The case was this —You well know that a train of reasoning and not any great profligacy has induced me to disbelieve the scriptures —this train myself and my friend pursued, we found to our surprise that

¹ An allusion has already been made, on a previous page, to the fact that at one time there was some talk of prosecuting the publisher of *The Necessity*. Bysshe was evidently aware that this step was contemplated, as he wrote on May 15, 1811, to Hogg, "All danger about prosecution is over, it was *never* more than a hum"

Poland Street

(strange as it may appear) the proof of an existing Deity were as far as we had observed defective

We therefore embodied our doubts on the subject and arranged them methodically in the form of *The Necessity of Atheism* thinking thereby to obtain a satisfactory or an unsatisfactory answer from men who had made Divinity the study of their lives

How then were we treated? not as our fair open candid conduct might demand no argument was publicly brought forward to disprove our reasoning and it at once demonstrated the weakness of their cause and their inveteracy on discovering it when they publicly expelled myself and my friend It may be here necessary to mention that at first *I* only was suspected I was summoned before a common Hall and refusing to disavow the publication was expelled My friend Mr Hogg insisted on sharing the same fate as myself the result of their proceedings therefore is that we are both expelled I know too well that your feeling mind will sympathise too deeply in my misfortunes I hope it will alleviate your sorrow to know that for *myself* I am perfectly indifferent to the late tyrannical violent proceedings of Oxford Will you present my affectionate duty to my Mother my love to Elizabeth I will not write to-day but should be happy to hear from them May I turn your attention to the advertisement which surely deserved an *answer* not expulsion—Believe me my dear Father ever most affectionately dutifully yours

PERCY B. SHREVE

GRAHAM S

As soon as Mr Shelley received Byssie's letter he must have bustled up to London and taken his usual

Shelley in England

rooms at Miller's Hotel, over Westminster Bridge. From Graham he would have obtained information as to the whereabouts of Bysshe, whom he appears to have seen on Sunday, March 31. Bysshe's ingenuous invitation to his father to discuss the subject of the syllabus by drawing his attention to the advertisement¹ prefixed to *The Necessity of Atheism* was probably not ignored by Mr Shelley and he most likely endeavoured to obtain a full account of the expulsion. He attempted to persuade his son to write an apology to the authorities of University College, but in this attempt he failed. Bysshe was evidently sincere in his expressions of sorrow for causing his father pain, but he had confessed himself indifferent to the "late tyrannical proceedings of Oxford," and the idea of being constrained to apologise must have struck him as another attempt at tyranny.

Having meditated on his talk with Bysshe for some days, Mr Shelley wrote him one of his oddly phrased letters. He was undoubtedly anxious to reclaim his son, but with his passion for laying down the law, he could not forgive him without making conditions.

¹ "Advertisement. As a love of truth is the only motive which actuates the Author of this little tract, he earnestly entreats that those of his readers who may discover any deficiency in his reasoning, or may be in possession of proofs which his mind could never obtain, would offer them, together with their objections to the Public, as briefly, as methodically, as plainly as he has taken the liberty of doing. Thro' deficiency of proof—AN ATHEIST."

Poland Street

Timothy Shelley to P B Shelley

MILLER'S HOTEL April 5 1811

MY DEAR BOY—I am unwilling to receive and act on the information you gave me on Sunday as the ultimate determination of your mind

The disgrace which hangs over you is most serious and though I have felt as a father and sympathized in the misfortune which your criminal opinions and improper acts have begot yet you must know, that I have a duty to perform to my own character as well as to your younger brother and sisters Above all my feelings as a Christian require from me a decided and firm conduct towards you

If you shall require aid or assistance from me—or any protection—you must please yourself to me

1st To go immediately to Field Place and to abstain from all communication with Mr Hogg, for some considerable time

2nd That you shall place yourself under the care and society of such gentlemen as I shall appoint and attend to his instructions and directions he shall give

These terms are so necessary to your well being and to the value which I cannot but entertain that you may abandon your errors and present unjustifiable and wicked opinions that I am resolved to withdraw myself from you and leave you to the punishment and misery that belongs to the wicked pursuit of an opinion so diabolical and wicked as that which you have dared to declare if you shall not accept the proposals I shall go home on Thursday—I am your affectionate and most afflicted Father

T SHELLEY¹

¹ From Hogg's *Life of Shelley*

Shelley in England

It is not unlikely that Bysshe might have agreed to his father's conditions but for the request that he should give up Hogg. This he could not bring himself to do, apart from his regard for Hogg, he was too loyal to throw over the friend who had willingly shared with him the onus of his expulsion from the University. The mere proposal was sufficient to raise Bysshe's hot temper, and it is not difficult to detect the scornful tone which underlies his polite reply to his father's letter.

P B Shelley to Timothy Shelley

POLAND STREET (*after April 5, 1811*)

MY DEAR FATHER,—As you do me the honour of requesting to hear the determination of my mind as to the basis of your future acts I feel it my duty, although it gives me pain to wound “the sense of duty to your own character, to that of your family and your feelings as a Christian” decidedly to refuse my assent to both the proposals in your letter and to affirm that similar refusals will always be the fate of similar requests.

With many thanks for your great kindness—I remain, your affectionate dutiful son,

PERCY B SHELLEY ¹

On April 5, the same day that he wrote to Bysshe, Mr. Timothy Shelley addressed a letter to Hogg's

¹ From Dowden's *Life of Shelley*, vol. 1 p. 130

Poland Street

father on the subject of the unfortunate affair that has happened to my son and yours at University College Oxford. He went on to say that he had endeavoured to part the young men by directing Bysshe to return home and giving the same advice to T J Hogg. Backed up in that opinion by men of rank and influence' he suggested that Mr Hogg senior should come to London and help him to carry out his purpose. They are now at No 15 Poland Street Oxford Road. These youngsters must be parted and the fathers must exert themselves. The favour of your answer will oblige. Poor Mr Shelley, who was making a shot in the dark, addressed this letter to Stockton on Tees instead of Norton and being unacquainted with Mr Hogg's Christian name he said somewhat bluntly "I am at a loss now to know whom I address not being able to get the direction." He then added by way of postscript with his characteristic oddity of expression "Sir James Graham tells me there are several of the name therefore into whosoever's hands this comes will have the goodness to find out the right person."

After he had sent this letter to the post with his mind thoroughly absorbed by his mission and with anxious solicitude Mr Shelley discovered someone who was able to supply him with the name and address of Mr Hogg and to vouch for his respectability

Shelley in England

Doubting whether his first letter had reached Mr Hogg, he wrote again on the following day urging him to get his son to return home "They want to be in professions together," he said "If possible they must be parted, for such monstrous opinions that occupy their thoughts are by no means in their favour I hope you have received my letter of yesterday, and will take immediate means of acting as you think proper This is a most deplorable case and I fear we shall have much trouble to root it out Paley's *Natural Theology* I shall recommend my young man to read, it is extremely applicable I shall read it with him A father so employed, must impress his mind more sensibly than a stranger I shall exhort him to divest himself of all prejudice already imbibed from his false reasoning, and to bring a willing mind to a work so essential to his own and his family's happiness I understand you have more children God grant they may turn out well, and this young man see his error—I remain, your obedient and afflicted fellow-sufferer, T SHELLEY" ¹

Mr John Hogg entrusted to his friend Mr R Clarke (the Earl of Bridgwater's agent) the task of dealing with his son And Mr Clarke, who was on the spot in London, with an address in New Bond Street, apparently was soon in a position to throw some light

¹ From Hogg's *Life of Shelley*

Poland Street

on the expulsion at Oxford The following letter appears in Hogg's *Life of Shelley* above the signature C R which would seem to be Clarke's initials transposed¹ I think one may assume that Clarke was the writer of the letter

R Clarke to John Hogg

April 6 1811

B J came to me this morning from Oxford I have had the whole history from him and the reason of all this strange conduct in your son and Shelley is what I supposed a desire to be singular There is no striking impiety in the pamphlet but it goes to show that because a supreme power cannot be seen such power may be doubted to exist It is a foolish performance so far as argument goes but written in good language These two young men gave up associating with anybody else some months since never dined in College, dressed differently from all others and did everything in their power to show singularity as much as to say 'We are superior to everybody' They have been writing Novels Shelley has published his and your son has not Shelley is son to the Member for Shoreham He has always been odd, I find and suspected of insanity but of great acquirements so is your son I mean as to the latter he is of high repute in College

To JOHN HOGG
Norton

C R

¹ Hogg's exasperating habit of suppressing, or altering names and initials in his *Life of Shelley* is sufficiently well known

Shelley in England

On Sunday, April 7, Hogg accompanied Bysshe to dine with his father, by invitation, at Miller's Hotel. After an early breakfast the two young men went for their usual long walk, and reached the hotel at the appointed hour of five. Bysshe had spoken of his father's strange habits and manner to Hogg, who took the description to be an exaggerated one, but he assured him it was not. Hogg's amusing account of the humorous side of the dinner loses nothing in the telling—it reads like a comic episode out of one of Peacock's fantastic novels, and it was probably highly overdrawn. He says that Mr. Timothy Shelley received him "kindly, but he presently began to talk in an odd unconnected manner, scolding, crying, swearing, and then weeping again." They dined well, and after the meal, when Bysshe had been sent out on some errand for his father, he said to Hogg:

"You are a very different person, sir, from what I expected to find, you are a nice, moderate, reasonable, pleasant gentleman. Tell me what you think I ought to do with my poor boy? He is rather wild, is he not? If he had married his cousin, he would perhaps have been less so. He would have been steadier. He wants someone to take care of him—a good wife. What if he were married?"

Hogg admitted the wisdom of this suggestion, but Mr. Shelley declared it impossible, as he feared that

Poland Street

if he were to tell Bysshe to marry he would refuse Hogg suggested that it would be better to bring him into contact with some young lady likely to make him a suitable wife without mentioning anything about marriage and if he did not take a fancy to her he could try another Old Mr Graham the father of Mr Shelley's protégé who acted as his factotum was present He interposed and said he thought the plan an excellent one and for some time he and Mr Shelley conversed in a low tone and went over a list of young women of their acquaintance The conversation however was brought to a conclusion by Bysshe's return Mr Shelley then proposed some more port—better wine than they had been drinking—but no one assenting the civil and attentive Mr Graham made tea

After tea our host became characteristic again said Hogg he discoursed of himself and his own affairs he cried laughed scolded swore and praised himself at great length He was so highly respected in the House of Commons he was respected by the whole House and by the Speaker in particular who told him that they could not get on without him He assured us that he was greatly beloved in Sussex Mr Graham assented to all this He was an excellent magistrate He told a very long story how he had lately committed two poachers You know the

Shelley in England

fellows, Graham, you know who they are ” ”
Then Mr Shelley said, “ There is certainly a God,
there can be no doubt of the existence of a Deity ”
No one expressed any doubt, not even Hogg who was
chiefly addressed Mr Shelley declared that he could
prove it in a moment, and consenting to read his argu-
ment took from his pocket a sheet of letter paper and
began to read “ Bysshe, leaning forward, listened
with profound attention ‘ I have heard this argument
before,’ he said ” They were Paley’s arguments, as
Hogg remarked Mr Shelley admitted as much and
observed, turning towards Hogg, “ Yes ! you are right,
sir, they are Paley’s arguments , I copied them out
of Paley’s book this morning for myself but Paley
had them originally from me , almost everything in
Paley’s book he had from me ”

The time had now arrived for Bysshe and Hogg to
depart Mr Shelley shook hands with Hogg in a very
friendly manner, and said, “ ‘ I am sorry you would not
have any more wine, I should have liked much to have
drunk a bottle of the old wine with you Tell me the
truth, I am not such a bad fellow after all, am I ? ’ ”

“ ‘ By no means ’ ”

“ ‘ Well, when you come to see me at Field Place
you will find that I am not ’ ”

Thus Hogg and Mr Shelley parted, and they never
met again Hogg said of Mr Shelley “ I have some-

Poland Street

times thought that if he had been taken the right way things might have gone better but this his son Bysshe could never do for his course like that of true love was not to run smooth " This was unhappily, only too true but the blame was not entirely Bysshe's Had Mr Shelley been content to trust to his own judgment wrong headed as it often was instead of seeking the advice of his family lawyer a reconciliation might have been arrived at between father and son Bysshe as a boy was fond of his father His sisters remembered on some occasion when Mr Shelley was ill seeing their brother (who was then about fourteen years of age) several times a day watching and listening at the door of the sick room to try to discover how his father was getting on ¹ And this is not the only indication that we have of the boy's affection for his father He may have thought him absurd at times and said so in his letters with boyish priggishness but he was not always unfilial They were both eccentric and though Mr Shelley lacked the genius of his son they would probably have come to an understanding Eccentric people are seldom entirely devoid of imagination and Bysshe would have found some vulnerable spot in his father's mind or heart But the thing became impossible when the older man endeavoured to adopt the hard and fast legal precepts of his solicitor

¹ Hogg's *Life of Shelley* vol 1 p 459

Shelley in England

Mr Whitton Mr Shelley, suspecting his own weakness, sought the aid of this gentleman, and was thus able to make a show of possessing a hardness of heart which was new and unfamiliar to his son The process of alienation, though gradual, was unfortunately sure

On April 8, Mr Shelley wrote from Miller's Hotel to Mr Whitton

"You observe how they are now determined and what materials they are made of—I shall and will be firm, for he begins now to cast off all duty so he did before, and I must make up my mind in affection—your most kind and friendly advice will be acceptable

"I expect Mr Hogg, he wrote to me to-day, and will call on me and see me I hope before he sees his Son I understand he is a very gentlemanly man—and if he agrees with me no doubt but we shall bring these youngsters to reason"

We are not able to say exactly what was Mr Whitton's advice to Mr Shelley, but it is evident that they had a consultation, Mr Shelley decided henceforth to place the whole business in his lawyer's hands, and he promised to be guided by him and him alone Declining to communicate with his son he sent on all his letters and those of any others connected with this affair to Mr Whitton, who received his client's instructions to deal with them There is, however, a passage in a letter, dated April 11, to Sir Bysshe Shelley which indicates pretty clearly what Mr Whitton



WILLIAM WHITTON

From the painting by J. e. Lak,
By permission of the D. W. Skelton, A. and L.



Poland Street

thought about the baronet's grandson. He says

I lament exceedingly the conduct of Mr Percy B Shelley—He is an extraordinary young man and I greatly fear he will give much cause of uneasiness to his father. His impiety and effrontery in the avowal of it exceeds belief and if anything can bring him to a sense of his duty it is the firm conduct in my opinion of Mr Tim Shelley.

There was a Mr Hurst a trustee of some of the Shelley estates to whom Mr Timothy Shelley's thoughts turned in his perplexity as a suitable person to treat with his son over this delicate matter. He lived at Horsham Park and was consequently a neighbour of Mr Shelley who may have called on him there. Hurst evidently gathered that Mr Shelley desired him to act as he speedily approached Bysshe in regard to the proposals contained in his father's letter. The immediate result of this unexpected and unwelcomed intervention was a strong feeling of resentment on the part of Bysshe who at once addressed an indignant note to his father.

15 POLAND STREET

Wednesday mor [April 10]

MY DEAR FATHER —I am astonished that you should employ such a man as Mr Hurst as the medium thro which you may communicate any proposals — If any change in your intentions should have taken

Shelley in England

place I shall give respectful attention to their merits
if addressed to me, 15 Poland Street—Yr affect
dutiful Son, P B SHELLEY

[Addressed]

T SHELLEY, Esq
Miller's Hotel,
Westr Bridge

“ I desired Mr Hurst,” wrote Mr Shelley to Whitton on April 11, on receiving Bysshe's note of protest, “ after I saw you to take no part in the business whatever—by a note left for him and in person as I accidentally saw him ” Mr Shelley added that he had no intention to answer Bysshe's note, and then, by way of postscript, “ I have given no authority to Mr Hurst, but the contrary ” In another letter to Whitton of the same date, Mr Shelley said “ I will, my dear Sir, now leave this young Lunatic to your management, as I shall go home ”

Although Mr Shelley wrote to Whitton in his first letter of this date, “ I will thank you from henceforth to be the only person I shall apply to in this business from every idea of doing what is right,” he had already discussed the matter with others Besides Hurst, he had seen during his visit to town his brother-in-law, Robert Parker (husband of his sister Hellen, the eldest daughter of Sir Bysshe Shelley), and discussed his troubles with him , also with John Grove and R Clarke, all of whom saw Bysshe under the

Poland Street

impression that they were carrying out Mr Shelley's wishes Parker's letter which follows was undoubtedly written in good faith but it is not clear what Mr Shelley meant by the note which he added for the benefit of his lawyer He is a very intelligent man I desired him not to call on my son on any account for I was fix'd and determined I have the most hopes of Mr Parker's getting him to retract these opinions Perhaps he was anxious to keep up the part of the stern parent but Parker having seen Bysshe he hoped that it would have a satisfactory result

Robert Parker to Timothy Shelley

OSBORNE'S HOTEL

Friday afternoon (April 12 1811)

MY DEAR SHELLEY—I have seen your son and his friend—Mr Jno Grove was there—Our conversation was long and not much gained by it—he expressed great satisfaction at finding you did not send Mr Hurst to him—a pretty strong desire to be reconciled to his family but an adherence to his own points and of course very little bending to yours but an *expression of affection towards his mother and sister*,¹ and he said he should go to Field Place in ten days or a fortnight to see you and them and try to effect a reconciliation—I engaged nothing for you but urged abstaining from corresponding together upon that one subject as a duty he owed to your commands and the reasonableness of it—

¹ The words *never to me* were inserted in ink at this point by Sir Timothy who is also responsible for the underlining

Shelley in England

He's a very accute [*sic*] reasoner and seems to be very fond of it—I have asked him to write to me, and he seemed pleased—I think a lapse of a fortnight and a visit to Field Place may operate considerably towards bending him to your arrangement, but conviction alone can alter his opinion—

Mr Hogg said very little—My kind love to Mrs. Shelley and Elizabeth and John—I am, Yours very affectionately,
R PARKER

“I go to Maidstone to-morrow”

It would appear from this letter, and the next from his cousin the surgeon, that Bysshe was already a little home-sick, and that he wanted to see his mother and sisters who were cut off from him. On the other hand, he was not prepared to give up the fight

John Grove to Timothy Shelley

[LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON]

Thursday night, April 11, 1811

DEAR SIR,—Since I saw you I have had several conversations with Bysshe. I am convinced that there is nothing he wishes more than to be on terms with you and all his family, but he has got into his head ideas which he will not be prevailed on to relinquish till he is convinced of their being wrong, he is, however, very willing to be put right. I have told him he ought to consider that your and Mrs Shelley's happiness depend on his conduct, that he ought not to sacrifice everything to his own opinions and be entirely regardless of your feelings, and bid him think what a

Poland Street

wretched life he must lead if he forced you to withdraw your support and affection from him which I assured him you would do if he did not agree to your proposals. Mr Hogg's father is now in Town and I believe at this minute talking with him. I think if he takes his son out of Town¹ you will find Bysshe inclined to agree to most of your proposals if not to all. Bysshe considers himself at present bound by honour to remain with Hogg until he is reconciled to his father if that reconciliation should take place this evening, I have great hopes that he would then think of nothing but returning to his duty. I fully intended to have called on you this morning but was prevented by want of time. Bysshe expressed a great wish this morning to go to Field Place but yet he would not prevail on himself to accede to all your terms. His opinions I think may in time be changed. He appears *to me* to be wavering already. I beg to be remembered to Mrs Shelley and Elizabeth—I remain Yours sincerely
JOHN GROVE

The following was added in Timothy's writing,

Mr Grove is a Surgeon his father married Mrs Shelley's sister. My answer was that I had pledged the business in your hands to guard my honour and character against Prosecutions in the Courts.

Hogg and Bysshe in the meantime had not been idle but had put their heads together and had drawn up a paper of proposals with a view of coming to

¹ The idea that Hogg had influenced Bysshe for the bad seems to have been entertained pretty generally.

Shelley in England

terms with their respective fathers They probably realised that talking the matter over with Mr Timothy Shelley and his emissaries was unlikely to lead to any definite results These proposals they submitted first to Mr Hogg senior, who had now arrived in London, and, having obtained his approbation, Bysshe sent them on to his father with the following note

P B Shelley to Timothy Shelley

Copy

15 POLAND STREET

MY DEAR FATHER,—I enclose you a copy of the proposals which were submitted after the joint consideration of myself and my Friend to the latter's Father

He has done us the honour of expressing his approbation of them with the consent of yours

I do this with a real and sincere wish for coming to an accommodation which I respectfully hope will not now be refused —Your obt affectionate Son,

P. B. SHELLEY

“The Parties will make to Mr Faber any apologies that he or his friends may require

“They will not obtrude Atheistical opinions upon any one whatever, they will refrain from publishing Atheistical Doctrines or even speculations

“They will return immediately to their respective homes

“The parties feel it their duty to demand an unrestrained correspondence

“When Mr T J Hogg enters at the Inns of Court

Poland Street

or commences any other profession, that Mr P B Shelley may be permitted to select that situation in life which may be consonant with his intentions to which he may judge his abilities adequate "

The document which was endorsed by Mr Shelley "Fine fellows these to presume to offer proposals" is not in Bysshe's handwriting. It was sent through the post to Whitton with the address in the handwriting of Mr Shelley who franked and dated it April 14 1811. The copy of Bysshe's letter and of the proposals are written on the same sheet of foolscap paper which bears a watermark similar to that on the paper used by Mr Shelley in other correspondence from Field Place. It is headed with the word copy in Mr Shelley's writing and was evidently made by some member of the household at Field Place.

Besides Clarke Mr Hogg also sought the aid of another acquaintance the Rev George Stanley Faber formerly Vicar of Stockton on Tees, near Norton where Mr Hogg resided. He was then Rector of Redmarshall Durham four miles from Stockton. Faber had been at University College Oxford was at one time a Bampton Lecturer and the author of some controversial works. His name was already familiar to Bysshe who had described him, somewhat cynically in his correspondence with the younger Hogg as one

Shelley in England

of the Armageddon heroes who "maintain their posts with all the obstinacy of long-established dogmatism"

Faber wrote a letter on the subject of the expulsion to his friend, Mr Hogg senior, who placed it in Clarke's hands. That this letter was shown to young Hogg and Bysshe is evident from the fact that they undertook in their "proposals" to apologise to Faber. The epistle was also read to Mr Shelley, who wrote to Whitton that Clarke was sending him Faber's letter, "which will open more to your view"

In his conversation with Clarke, Mr Shelley must have blustered out his belief that young Hogg had been the "original corruptor" of Bysshe's principles. The suggestion became known to Bysshe a day or two later when he and Hogg went to call on Clarke. This visit may have been concerned with the "proposals" which the two young men had drawn up and had submitted to Mr Hogg senior for his approval. Bysshe, however, was determined not to allow his father's accusation to pass unnoticed, and he sent the following letter to Mr Hogg to exonerate his friend. It was not until long after Shelley's death that Hogg, in looking over his father's old papers, came across, and read for the first time, this letter which contains so fine a proof of Bysshe's loyalty.

Poland Street

P B Shelley to John Hogg

15 POLAND STREET

[April 1811]

SIR—I accompanied (at his desire) Mr Jefferson Hogg to Mr C[larke] who was intrusted with certain propositions to be offered to my friend I was there extremely surprised no less hurt than surprised to find my father in his interview with Mr C had either unadvisedly or inadvertently let fall expressions which conveyed an idea that Mr J[efferson] H[ogg] was the "original corruptor" of my principles That on this subject (notwithstanding his long experience) Mr T Shelley must know less than his son will be conceded and I feel it but justice in consequence of your feelings so natural what Mr C[larke] communicated positively to deny the assertion I feel this tribute which I have paid to the just sense of horror you entertain to be due to you as a gentleman I hope my motives stand excused to your candour

Myself and my friend have offered concessions painful indeed they are to myself but such as on mature consideration we find due to our high sense of filial duty

Permit me to request your indulgence for the liberty I have taken in thus addressing you—I remain your obedient humble servant

P B SHELLEY¹

To JOHN HOGG Esq

Timothy Shelley to William Whitton

FIELD PLACE April 14 1811

DEAR SIR—I communicated the whole business in regard to my son to my Father

¹ From Hogg's *Life of Shelley*

Shelley in England

He very much approved of the decision taken by me and still consider'd I should be firm As to Mr. Faber I know no more of than hearing his very long letter to Mr Hogg once read over I gave Mr Hogg my letter and my son's disrespectful and undutiful answer and desir'd him to be steady and firm with his son and then they would be brought to reason from the evidence of their own senses They never think of their offended and injur'd Parents' situation, but endeavour to treat by a flag of Truce, like two contending armies, disagree in some point, and then go to Battle again—I am rous'd into energy and a determined resolution not to give way to his insolent demand of corresponding with Mr Hogg, or his chusing for himself what would not be admitted with his monstrous opinions at the Inns of Court Perhaps a correspondence could not be prevented or the word of a person of such dreadful opinions could not be taken I have enclosed you the letters, not having given authority to any person but yourself to relax from my letter, or even to say they went to him on my account, so that I will now beg the favour of your opinion how I am to act, whether to take no notice or write another letter that you shall think right I should do I will very much thank you for your advice and anything I should now do for my own and Family's comfort, and you may depend on me A gentleman just come here from London says he doubts the two ¹ articles having been known to ¹ excepting Mr Hogg's Father

Could you call on my son, or send to Mr Hogg. Mr Clark is his friend at No 38-42, New Bond Street

¹ Portion of letter missing, caused by removal of seal

Polind Street

Don't spare my Apostate Son though I know it is only obstinacy This agitates me so that I cannot act for myself to my own satisfaction and as my Father is so well pleas'd by your kindness I entreat the following this business up in the best manner you so well know how to act in it—I remain Yours very truly

T SHELLEY

[Addressed]

WM WHITTON Esq

No 10 Great James St

Bedford Row London

Mr Timothy Shelley having as he says in this letter to Whitton communicated the whole business in regard to his son to Sir Bysshe The old baronet duly considered the case and then delivered judgment to Mr Shelley and afterwards to the family solicitor in the following characteristic letter written in his trembling crabbed handwriting with its old fashioned contractions

Sir Bysshe Shelley to W Whitton

[Postmark HORSHAM April 15 1811]

DEAR SR—Agree with you y^t P B S etc are extraordinary characters in my opinion there is but one way to bring them to their senses not by remonstrance, not by treaty y^t cant be with rebels se by his letter to his Father he is in a state of High rebellion No terms but unconditional Submission can be admitted now and y^t is not likely to be the case whilst he is treated with Now my plain unrefined Opinion is

Shelley in England

(I never deceive myself) let these two young men run their career without interruption, this in my opinion will bring them to their senses sooner than any thing —
Very Hble Servt, B SHELLEY

[Addressed in Mr Timothy Shelley's handwriting]

WM WHITTON,

No 10, Great James St

Bedford Row, London

T SHELLEY

Mr Shelley also wrote on April 14 to Clarke, informing him that he had received Bysshe's letter with the "proposals" These "proposals" had been submitted by T J Hogg to his father, who had given them his approval subject to Mr Shelley's consent Timothy Shelley, however, declined to follow Mr John Hogg's lead, or to be influenced by the letter of the "mild and benevolent" Mr Faber, and he stated that he had considered it right to place his business in the hands of his lawyer, "to guard his honour and character in case of any prosecutions in the Courts" He thought that Mr Hogg must be deceived, if he agreed to the proposals Indeed, what right had "these opinionated youngsters" to dictate terms? Their demand especially for an unrestrained correspondence with one another was "undutiful and disrespectful to a degree" Mr Shelley thought that Mr Hogg could not "agree to such insolence," as he described the young men's stipulation that they should be per-

Poland Street

mitted to choose their own professions 'Desire Mr Hogg junior to inform you of our conversation last Sunday' Mr Shelley added by way of post script

In replying to the above letter on the following day Clarke said that Mr Hogg senior had refrained from stating objections to a correspondence between the young men because it did not appear to him that it could be prevented from being carried on through the medium of a third person' He assented to their correspondence in the hope that they might either dismiss or moderate their obnoxious opinions They were recommended to exclude from their letters all religious subjects by Clarke who took care to read to them from Blackstone and Burn what the penalties are for writing or publishing profane doctrine Mr Hogg had not felt himself justified to give or express any opinion with regard to Bysshe's idea of selecting law as a profession which was plainly a matter for the consideration of Bysshe's family T J Hogg was to be entered at one of the inns of Court but Clarke who was evidently himself in the law did his best to discourage Bysshe from becoming a lawyer He expressed the opinion that the young men might be led but were not to be driven With Hogg he had 'endeavoured to apply mild reasoning and mild words much more than his conduct merits perhaps' and had

Shelley in England

persuaded him to leave London with him on the following day. Clarke concluded his letter by adding that "your son, will not be supported or countenanced by his friend in standing out against you, and I should be much inclined to think that some judicious friend might bring him back to you."

Clarke also sent a note to Whitton on April 16, informing him that young Hogg had agreed to go that evening to his friends in the north, and that it was hoped that they might dissuade him from corresponding with Bysshe.

Hogg said, "I quitted Shelley with mutual regret, leaving him alone in his trellised chamber, where he was to remain, a bright-eyed, restless fox amidst sour grapes, not, as his poetic imagination at first suggested, for ever, but a little while longer. I left London at nine o'clock in the evening by the Holyhead mail, having dined with the grave companion of my journey at a coffee-house in Bond Street." ¹

On April 14, Mr. Shelley also wrote to his lawyer about Hogg's departure. "My son," he said, "will be left, as it were, in solitary confinement. I wish something could be done with the apostate." Bysshe's place at University College was now vacant, and Timothy Shelley's half-brother, John Shelley-Sidney, having given him the nomination to the Leicester

¹ *Life of Shelley*, vol. 1 p. 334

Poland Street

Exhibition at the College he recommended Christopher Dodson of Sussex for the vacant place

Whitton was by no means disposed to deviate from Mr Shelley's instructions and was determined not to spare his client's "apostate son." The lawyer was ill and he seized the opportunity while he was taking a few days rest at his house at Camberwell to lecture his client. 'I saw Mr Clarke on the proposals he wrote on April 16 to Mr Shelley. I cannot form to myself a reason why you should relinquish your judgment to your inexperienced son and allow him to say what is most fitting for himself as though he alone was capable of judging rightly on the subject. Either you must have allowed your son extraordinary liberties or I think he would have hesitated greatly before he had penned such a proposal. Mr Hogg's son is to do as his father directs him but your son proposes that you should now resign to his pleasure his future conduct in life. As to all the conditions about not writing or publishing Atheistical books the punishment which attends such a conduct must be an effectual check. In a few days and the first I am able I will use my endeavours to see Mr P. B. Shelley.'

It would appear from the following letter addressed to Whitton on April 18 by Mr Shelley that after his son's expulsion from Oxford he had proposed that Bysshe should take a voyage to Greece. The idea

Shelley in England

suitable enough in any circumstances, was expressly intended to separate him from Hogg, who was regarded as a bad influence, and to divert Bysshe's mind from philosophical studies by new scenes and interests Mr Shelley had made the tour of Europe before he settled down to matrimony, and he probably recognised its benefits It is not possible to say when this proposal was made to Bysshe, but he declined it, perhaps besides the reason given because his father imposed the condition that he should cease to correspond with Hogg Mr Shelley endeavoured to explain, in his simple-minded way, that Bysshe's waywardness could not have been the result of his exemplary upbringing

"I cannot express the great obligations," said Mr. Shelley, "I feel towards your exertions on this unpleasant business of my Son I can assure you that I never gave him Liberties that from his conduct you have reason to suppose I must have done from six years of age he has never been kept *one day* from School when he ought to be there, and in his Holydays I read the Classics and other Books with him in the full hopes of making him a good and Gentlemanly Scholar

"Now in what manner he has got all this Heterodoxy in a place fam'd for Piety and Learning I am at a loss to guess If he even now expresses the least goodness of Heart, he will be very sorry that he has not seen that whatever a Parent had requir'd that he did not

Poland Street

see it was sufficient whose happyness has been so wounded by his conduct and opinions which to speak most mildly of them, are not only extremely singular but abhorrent in a Christian Society He ought therefore to correct them and not shut his mind against conviction in favour of such abominable opinions merely because he fancies his reasoning powers infallible

He cannot long continue in the same erroneous way of thinking for in studied conversation I had with them on Sunday ye 7th inst their tongues which obey'd their will in speaking the Fallacy are evidences against it

My son threw away the chance he had of going to the Greek Islands because he would not leave Hogg Travelling would of course dispel the gloomy ideas which he has too long fix'd on objects tending to produce Temporary Insanity it would have rais'd his depress'd spirits to a proper height of vivacity and by placing him constantly in the presence of real dignity, bring him naturally to reflect on his *own* Such a scheme I am confident would effect what no abstract reasoning can produce dissipate all despairing doubts tranquilize his perturb'd imagination et se sibi reddet amicum

I am much concern'd for the trouble this occasions to all parties it is so unpleasant and withal to steer the

Shelley in England

best course I will do all I can so that no reasonable pecuniary allowance on my part shall be wanting

“I shall hope to hear in due time all the success I can desire if possible, Home will not do long, as I must occasionally be away He or Hogg has a Box which they call their Poison Box that should be burnt ”

Whitton kept his promise to Mr Shelley and wrote to Bysshe, probably on Wednesday, April 17. He said that he had been very unwell for the week past, and was confined to the house, otherwise he would have called on Bysshe or have asked him to come to his chambers at Great James Street As it was not his intention to go to London until the following Monday, he said that both he and Mrs Whitton would be very pleased if Bysshe would come to Camberwell on Thursday or Friday and spend a couple of days with them He added, “we may perhaps qualify the proposals made to your Father in a manner acceptable to him” If it should happen that Bysshe were unable to accept the invitation, Whitton promised to see him at Great James Street on Monday at one o'clock

Whitton wrote at the same time to Mr Shelley “I hope young Hogg has left your son as he will see by it how unsteady the mind is in its first purposes

Poland Street

I have written to your son and invited him to come to this house and spend a few days I shall if he accepts my invitation get more possession of his mind and perhaps be able to settle some plan for his future conduct at least for a time '

After Hogg's departure Bysshe found his lodgings at Poland Street a little solitary He missed the society of his friend and his talks and walks with him but he endeavoured to console himself by writing poetry and in order to pass the time he went to bed every evening at eight o'clock A letter which he had written to Mr Shelley had been intercepted by his mother who perhaps thought it was not likely to improve the relations between father and son Mrs Shelley sent Bysshe some money and asked him to come home but he was in no mood to return to Field Place and he sent back the money His solitary hours however were sometimes cheered by visits from Miss Westbrook and her sister Harriet—another Harriet who was to play an important part in the poet's life

Bysshe was now losing patience over the negotiations with his father regarding the ' proposals He probably argued with himself that so long as he continued to be his father's heir he would have to submit not only to Mr Shelley's authority but to that of his

Shelley in England

grandfather and of the family solicitor Bysshe's father was an example of what even an elderly man was expected to do who was heir to a wealthy baronet, and the prospect could not have been much to the young man's liking. He wanted to be free to act and live where he pleased, and he was willing to sell his birthright for a mess of pottage, if the pottage meant liberty. Moreover, Godwin, who hated vows and covenants as fiercely as Tolstoy, had pronounced against entails, and his opinion was in itself a sufficient reason for Bysshe's attitude.

Under the will of his great-uncle, John Shelley, Bysshe was tenant-in-tail of certain estates in Sussex, subject to the prior life-interest therein of Sir Bysshe and Timothy Shelley. Bysshe told Hogg, in his letter of April 18, that he had written to say he would "resign all claim to the entail," if his father would allow him two hundred pounds a year and divide the rest among his sisters. "Of course he will not refuse the offer," he remarked. As a matter of fact, Bysshe, being under age, was powerless to relinquish his rights. In the first of the following letters to Whitton, written before he received the lawyer's invitation, Bysshe asked for one, not two hundred pounds a year, all he wanted was an independent income, and with his inexperience of money matters, he was not emphatic about the amount.

Poland Street

P B Shelley to W Whitton

15 POLAND STREET

[*Postmark 4 o'clock April 17 1811*]

SIR—As common report and tolerably good authority informs me that part of Sir Bysshe Shelley's property is entailed upon me I am willing by signature to resign all pretensions to such property in case my father will divide it equally with my sisters *and my Mother* and allow me now 100*£* per an as an annuity which will only amount to 2000*£* perhaps less—Your obt humble sert

P B SHELLEY

[Addressed]

WHITTON Esq
Bedford Row

It was not until after he had posted this letter that he received Whitton's invitation to discuss the proposals Although Bysshe was evidently aware that Whitton's letter was written before he received the proposal regarding the entail, he deliberately referred to it in the following note in order to avoid any misunderstanding that he was really serious in his offer to renounce what he believed to be his interests in the property

P B Shelley to W Whitton

15 POLAND STREET

[*Postmark 4 o'clock April 18 1811*]

DEAR SIR—I will do myself the pleasure of waiting on you in Great James Street at the appointed time

. Shelley in England

I should have been happy to have accepted your kind invitation ¹ were I not confined within by a slight fever, which I calculate will soon be over I do not exactly see how it is possible to qualify the proposals I am perfectly willing and not only willing but desirous to give up all claim to the entail

Pray give my best compts to Mrs Whitton, with wishes for your speedy recovery—I remain, your
hum obt P B SHELLEY

[Addressed]

W WHITTON, Esq
Grove House,
Camberwell

The letters that had passed, between Bysshe and Whitton, had crossed so rapidly through the post that the lawyer was obliged to make his position quite clear to the poet Having received the letter in which Bysshe expressed his desire to renounce the entail, Whitton wrote first the stern reply printed below Perhaps on reflection he realised that he had been too stern, and therefore followed it by the more or less friendly letter to say that on Monday he would be pleased to meet Bysshe and that his reference to the “proposals” in the letter containing his invitation was not to be taken as relating to the proposal for relinquishing the entail

¹ In Bysshe's letter of April 18, 1811, to Hogg he wrote, “Yesterday I had a letter from Whitton to invite me to his house of course the answer was in the negative”

Poland Street

W Whitton to P B Shelley

GROVE HOUSE CAMBERWELL

[no date ? April 18 1811]

SIR—I am not a willing instrument by which insult may be offered to your father and I must therefore decline acting in any manner under the paper you have sent to me I most sincerely wish you to reflect on the tendency of the proposal you have thought proper to make before you offer it to your father's consideration—Yours etc

W WHITTON

Mr P B SHELLEY

W Whitton to P B Shelley

GROVE HOUSE CAMBERWELL

April 18 1811

DEAR SIR—You will perceive by the circumstances that my letter of yesterday was written without reference to the proposals you addressed by letter of yesterday's date These proposals did not come to my hands until—12 o'clock this day and I immediately wrote to you the only sentiment which the perusal of them begot The proposals to which my letter referred were those you some days since sent to your father and which he forwarded to me I shall be happy to see you on Monday and remain, your very obedient

W WHITTON

P B SHELLEY Esq

15 Poland Street

Bysshe had no love for lawyers and he was not likely to have been prejudiced in favour of his father's solicitor of whom he may have suspected as influenc

Shelley in England

ing Mr Shelley in regard to the "proposals" Mr Whitton's letter therefore was the very thing to cause Bysshe to give way to a burst of that violent anger which he was known to possess, and which on rare occasions he was incapable of controlling

P B Shelley to W Whitton

15 POLAND STREET,
[Postmark 12 o'clock, April 19, 1811]

SIR,—I am not a likely person to submit to the imperious manner of address, of which this evening's letter is a specimen, nor *am* I inclined to withdraw, nor *ever will* I be inclined to withdraw the proposal which I sent you. As therefore you seem to have much to do in this business on the part of my father, it is your duty either to go through with it, or to give it up. I never *will* withdraw that proposal. It is for my father's or rather my family's interests which ought to be the same that I make it. *Here* is no appeal to mercy, leniency, or favor. I have *not* found nor do I care to find either but an appeal to justice, reason, humanity if you, if he were deaf to that nothing can be done—I will not listen to the suggestions of family pride, to interest to fortune I am indifferent and I desire that when I am addressed again, a less authoritative manner be used, or subsequent letters are returned unopened—Yr humbl
sert

P B SHELLEY

[Addressed]

WM WHITTON, Esq
Grove House,
Camberwell

Poland Street

Mr Whitton was evidently taken aback at the violence of Bysshe's letter. In his reply while he endeavoured to defend himself against the imputation of having been offensive he had no intention to let the young man off without a few words of advice. He was at any rate able to convey to Bysshe the intelligence that as a minor he had no independent income and therefore could not relinquish it. Whitton's warning however that he would not see Bysshe or receive any more of his letters was no doubt received by the young philosopher with indifference.

W Whitton to P B Shelley

10 GREAT JAMES STREET

SIR—I have just received a letter signed by you without a date. It was apparently written in great anger and the only reason I can give for such anger is that you did not understand the plain truth which I wished to communicate by my letter referred to for I am sure I intended no offence. I have not estimated on situation as it seems you expected and why you think it is my duty to be an instrument of insult I cannot guess. I know where to begin and how to practise my duties without your instructions and it would be well if you would consider the duties most called for and now unperformed by yourself.

Why do you suppose that you are the one that can best provide for your father and mother and their families interests. I do not know that you have the value of 6*d* to relinquish and if you had you cannot

Shelley in England

dispose of it from the legal disability which your infancy creates, for I understand that you are only about 19 I will take a further liberty of telling you that it is your families present greatest misfortune that you think but slightly on subjects on which you think proper to write, and which immediately concern their and your future prosperity You care not you say for Family Pride Allow me to tell you that the first part of the Family Pride of a Gent is to observe a propriety of manners and a decency of expression in communication, and your forgetfulness on those qualifications towards me in the letter which I have just received induces me to say that you will postpone your intended call on me on Monday, nor shall I receive any more letters from a pen so unguarded and insulting —Yours, &c ,

W WHITTON

[Addressed]

P B SHELLEY, Esq
15 Poland Street

Whitton sent on to Mr Shelley copies of the correspondence that had passed between him and Bysshe, but he withheld, on account of its “indecenty,” the letter containing the proposal to relinquish the entail “The Gent is very angry,” said the lawyer, “and has thought proper to lecture me on the occasion” In consequence of this letter Whitton had decided not to give Bysshe “a personal conversation” because, he added sententiously, from “his pertinacity of opinion and inclination to insult he may call on me to turn him out of the house, which would hurt my feelings exceed-

Poland Street

ingly Mr Whutton thought that if Mr Shelley allowed Bysshe to direct his future progress in life that he would prove 'an eternal scourge of discomfort' to his father This letter was not calculated to put anything but the gravest complexion on Bysshe's correspondence Mr Shelley was naturally alarmed and he said in announcing his intention of coming to London on Tuesday April 23 This misguided young man courts persecution and which to him would be a favor On reading over the correspondence again Mr Shelley sat down and wrote at greater length to his attorney

Both Mr Shelley and his solicitor seem to have regarded and treated Bysshe as an *enfant terrible* an impossible child bent on destroying the peace of Field Place and its inmates whose dangerous pranks were feared enhanced as they were by the consciousness that they could not be restrained

Timothy Shelley to W Whutton

FIELD PLACE April 22 1811

DEAR SIR—From my very great surprise I could scarcely sufficiently thank you for the great kindness you was shewing to my unworthy son and the Friendship towards me I never felt such a shock in my Life infinitely more than when I heard of his expulsion for I could not then have thought it of so hideous [sic] a cast Everything seems worse for I had hop'd from

Shelley in England

the seperation [*sic*], that as they could not comfort and support each other in the enthusiasm of their erroneous opinions, each would have been glad to have return'd home obedient to their Parent's Injunctions

The insulting ungentlemanly letter to you appears the high-ton'd, self-will'd dictate of the Diabolical Publications, which have unluckily fallen in his way, and given this Bias to his mind, that is most singular To cast off all thoughts of his Maker, to abandon his Parents, to wish to relinquish his Fortune and to court Persecution all seems to arise from the same source The most mild mode of giving his conduct a thought, it must occur that these sallies of Folly and Madness ought to be restrain'd and kept within bounds Nothing provokes him so much as civility, he wishes to become what he would term a martyr to his sentiments—nor do I believe he would feel the Horrors of being drawn upon a Hurdle, or the shame of being whirl'd in the Pillory

I trouble you with this that I may not take up your time in relating it I hear he has corresponded with Lucien B¹ and it is thot he did with Finnerty Perhaps I have not heard half. All these matters make me wish to come to some decision on which I can and ought to act towards a son in such dire disobedience, and act too for the real interests of comfort, and Happiness for the rest of the Family

I shall be in London to-morrow evg at Miller's Hotel, Westr Bridge—I remain, yr very obedt and much oblig'd Hbl Servt ,

T SHELLEY

¹ Is it possible that Lucien Bonaparte was numbered among Bysshe's correspondents?

Poland Street

Endorsed

MILLER'S HOTEL *April 23 1811*

I was too late for the post therefore send it by the
2d Post I will call this morning but do not stay
at home on my account I will call at any time you
will have the goodness to name

I must attend some Committees on Thursday at
12 o clk

I hear he is woefully melancholy

[Addressed HORSHAM *April twenty two 1811*]

WM WHITTON Esqre

No 10 Great James Street

Bedford Row London

T SHELLEY

CHAPTER XI

HARRIET WESTBROOK

Mr Shelley's attempt to make Bysshe a politician with the aid of the Duke of Norfolk—Bysshe's speech at the British Forum—His offer to preach for Rowland Hill—Captain Pilfold—Elizabeth Shelley's disaffection—Bysshe's allowance—Meets Harriet Westbrook—Her appearance—His acquaintance with her and her sister—Bysshe's loneliness—Views on marriage—Letter from Eliza Westbrook—Hogg's fears—Bysshe's return to Field Place—His mother and sister—Miss Hitchener—Janetta Philipps—Hogg and Elizabeth Shelley—The Prince Regent's fête—Bysshe visits the Groves at Cwm Elan—He resolves to elope with Harriet—Mr Shelley's suspicions

AFTER Bysshe left Oxford the question of inducing him to take up some suitable profession had exercised the mind of his father. Bysshe had shown an inclination, like his friend Hogg, towards entering one of the Inns of Court. The bar, however, did not appeal to Mr Shelley, the prizes such as had fallen to the Erskines, the Eldons, or the Broughams were few, and those contending for them very numerous.

Bysshe had said in his letter to Leigh Hunt, which is quoted in a previous chapter, that "on attaining twenty-one" he should in all probability fill his father's vacant seat in Parliament. Although the idea, since then, had grown distasteful to him, it

Harriet Westbrook

had been decided by Mr Shelley that Bysshe should become a professional politician apparently without regard to his inclination or possible vocation In the spring of 1811, therefore while Mr Shelley was attending the House of Commons he endeavoured to persuade his son to give his attention to politics and the Duke of Norfolk entered into the plan of bringing him in as member for Horsham The Duke a '*bon vivant*' as Professor Dowden says surrounded by men who kept the table in a roar and a famous trafficker in boroughs invited Bysshe to meet his father at dinner at Norfolk House to talk over the matter In giving an account of the dinner to his cousin Charles Grove Bysshe expressed great indignation at what he considered an effort to shackle his mind and introduce him into life as a mere follower of the Duke

He also related the incident to Hogg who gave an account of the Duke's conversation which if not exactly representing his words is probably correct in substance The Duke told him that he could not direct his attention towards politics too early in this country and said they are the proper career for a young man of ability and of your station With worldly wisdom his Grace pointed out the advantages of a political career for this being a monopoly a small success would count because of the limited

Shelley in England

number of competitors, and those for the most part without talent, or too indolent to exert themselves. The Church, the bar, and letters were otherwise, because the number of rivals is far greater. There none can win gold, though all may try to gain reputations, and it is a struggle for glory—the competition infinite without bounds—"a sea without shores" The Duke thus talked to Bysshe, said Hogg, many times, and strongly urged him to devote himself to politics without delay, but Bysshe was not to be persuaded. He expressed his unconquerable aversion from political articles in newspapers and reviews, and especially from political talk of which he had heard a good deal. Mr. Shelley had taken him several times to the House of Commons, and he was not impressed with what he saw there. "Good God!" he exclaimed, "what men did we meet about the House—in the lobbies and passages! and my father was so civil to them all!"¹ When this plan failed, said Charles Grove, Mr. Shelley was puzzled what to do. If he had known what were his son's opinions on religion or politics he would have been still more puzzled.

Not long after this date Bysshe expressed his views in a letter to Miss Hitchener.² "In *theology*," he said, "inquiries into our intellect, its eternity or perish-

¹ Hogg's *Life of Shelley*, vol. 1 p. 207

² June 25, 1811

Harriet Westbrook

ability I advance with caution and circumspection I pursue it in the privacy of retired thought or the interchange of friendship but in politics—*here* I am enthusiastic I have reasoned and my reason has brought me on this subject to the end of my inquiries I am no aristocrat nor any *crat* at all but vehemently long for the time when man may *dare* to live in accordance with Nature and Reason in consonance¹ with Virtue, to which I firmly believe that Religion its establishments Polity and its establishments are the formidable though destructible barriers

Although Bysshe eschewed the idea of entering Parliamentary life he gave early proofs of his gifts of oratory John Grove tells how his brother Charles went with Bysshe in the spring of 1811 to the British Forum in the neighbourhood of Covent Garden It was then a spouting club in which Cale Jones and other Radicals abused all existing governments Bysshe made so good a speech complimenting and differing from the previous orators that when he left the room there was a rush to find out who he was and to induce him to attend there again He gave them a false name and address not caring a farthing about the meeting or the subjects there discussed ²

¹ Shelley wrote *consequence* but he probably meant to write *consonance*

² Hogg's *Life of Shelley* vol 1 p 332

Shelley in England

Shelley, however, had some thoughts, even at that date, of becoming a reformer. One Sunday he went with Medwin to the Surrey Chapel to hear Rowland Hill, and he afterwards wrote, under an assumed name, to that popular preacher offering to address his congregation, but he received no reply to his letter.

When Hogg departed from London he went to Ellesmere in Shropshire to spend a few days with a fellow-collegian before settling down to his legal studies at York. After his separation from his solitary friend in Poland Street, letters began to pass from one to another, and it is possible to give some account of Bysshe's movements from his part of the correspondence.

Bysshe wrote on April 24 that he had called that morning on John Grove. "I met my father in the passage, and politely inquired after his health. He looked as black as a thundercloud, and said, 'Your most humble servant.' I made him a low bow, and, wishing him a very good morning, passed on. He is very irate about my proposals. I cannot resign anything, therefore, till I am twenty-one. I cannot do anything, therefore I have three more years to consider of the matter you mentioned."

Bysshe's uncle, Captain John Pilfold, a retired naval officer, was living at Cuckfield, some ten miles

Harriet Westbrook

from Field Place with his wife and children Captain Pilfold who had fought with Nelson in the Battle of the Nile and had commanded a frigate at Trafalgar seems to have been a good hearted man with a liking for his nephew who reciprocated this feeling Bysshe had received a very civil letter ' from his uncle whose arrival he awaited in order that he might return with him to Sussex He said 'I shall go down to Field Place soon His father (the old fellow he calls him) was resolved however that Bysshe should not stay at Field Place but " said his rebellious son 'if I please—as I shall do for some time—I *will* This resolution of mine was hinted to him

Oh! then I shall take his sister away before he comes' Bysshe said that he should follow her as her retirement could not be kept a secret and this would probably result in him wandering about for some time He soon realised however that his favourite sister Elizabeth could no longer be counted upon as one of the faithful

'My sister does not come to town nor will she ever at least I can see no chance of it " he wrote to Hogg¹ ' I will not deceive myself she is lost lost to every thing intolerance has tainted her—she talks cant and twaddle I would not venture thus to prophesy without being most perfectly convinced in my own

¹ Shelley to Hogg April 8 1811

Shelley in England

mind of the truth of what I say. It *may* not be irretrievable, but, yes, it is! A young female, who only once, only for a short time, asserted her claim to a unfettered use of reason, bred up with bigots, having before her eyes examples of the consequences of scepticism, or even of philosophy, which she must now see to lead directly to the former. A mother who is mild and tolerant, yet narrow-minded; how, I ask, is she to be rescued from its influence? ”

Mr Shelley was still unappeased—“Father is as fierce as a lion again”—but the question had been broached to him of making a small provision for Bysshe John Grove had seen him, and had “succeeded in flattering him into a promise” that he would allow his son £200 a year and leave him alone Mr Shelley, however, went home¹ and wrote to withdraw his promise of the income, though Bysshe conjectured that Grove (whom he calls *Gehdum Nemus*), like a flattering courtier, would bring him about again Mr. Shelley now wanted Bysshe to go to Oxford to apologise to the master, but this suggestion met with a stout refusal

It was not without a sense of humour that Bysshe wrote to Hogg (May 8) “The estate is *entirely* entailed on me—totally out of the power of the enemy

¹ In an unpublished note, April 25, 1811, Mr T Shelley wrote to Whitton, “I return home on Saturday (that is April 28), leaving the young man to his own imagination ”

Harriet Westbrook

He is yet angry beyond measure—pacification is remote but I will be at peace *vi et armis* I will enter his dominions preserving a Quaker like carelessness of opposition I shall manage *à l'Amérique* [sic] and seat myself quietly in his mansion turning a deaf ear to any declamatory objections¹

In anticipation of obtaining a fixed allowance from his father, Bysshe told Hogg that he wished to meet him at York that he might settle pecuniary matters with him I am quite well off in that [respect] now he said 'Remember it is idle to talk of money between us and little as it may do for politics with us you must allow the possession of bullion chattels &c is common Tell me then if you want cash as I have nearly drained you, and all delicacy like sisters stripping before each other is out of the question' Bysshe's ideas of a sufficient income were very moderate he never cared about money for himself he gave away to others with liberal hands practically all he ever had '£200 per annum,' he wrote¹ is really enough—more than I can want—besides what is money to me? What does it matter if I cannot even purchase sufficient *genteel clothes*? I still have a shabby greatcoat and those whose good opinion constitutes my happiness would not regard me the better or the worse for this or any other

¹ Shelley to Hogg May 12 1811

Shelley in England

consequence of poverty £50 per annum would be quite enough ”

By the middle of May, when he was at Field Place, the income was arranged with the help of Captain Pilfold, “ who settled matters admirably ” for Bysshe “ I have come to terms with my father,” he announced to Hogg on May 15, “ *I call them very good ones I am to possess £200 per annum I shall live very well upon it I am also to do as I please with respect to the choice of abode I need not mention what it will be* ”

Had Mr Shelley arrived at a reasonable arrangement with his son directly after the expulsion, and carried him off to Field Place instead of leaving him at Poland Street while he pottered with his solicitor over the terms of reconciliation, it is possible that much of the trouble that was in store for them might have been avoided His acquaintance with the Westbrooks might, for one thing, have been nipped in the bud Although eighteen and a half is an age when many youths have to shift for themselves and do so quite effectively, it was an unfortunate, and indeed dangerous experiment in the case of Bysshe, with his singular lack of worldly wisdom and experience

Charles H Grove spent a part of the Christmas vacation of 1810 with the Shelleys at Field Place,

Harriet Westbrook

and he returned to London in the following January. He recalled in after years going with Bysshe to Mr Westbrook's house in Chapel Street Grosvenor Square the object of this visit being to deliver a letter of introduction and a present from Mary Shelley to her schoolfellow Harriet Westbrook.¹ This apparently was Bysshe's first meeting with Harriet whom, Miss Hellen Shelley said she well remembered as a very handsome girl with a complexion quite unknown in those days—brilliant pink and white and hair quite like a poet's dream and Bysshe's peculiar admiration. Harriet Westbrook was at Miss Fenning's school on Clapham Common where Bysshe's sisters Mary and Hellen were also boarders. Both the schoolmistress and teachers used to remark upon Harriet's good looks. They evidently regarded her as the beauty of the school without rival and on one occasion, when they were discussing together a possible *fete champetre* they singled her out for the rôle of Venus.

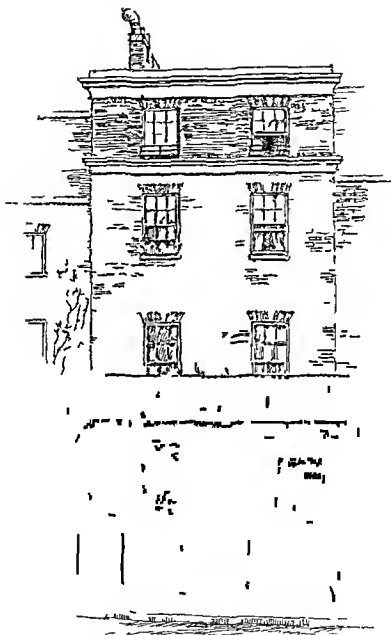
Such was her appearance as a young girl. Peacock, who knew her later and was to be the last her valiant advocate tells us that she possessed a good figure and was light active and graceful. Her features

¹ The Register of Baptisms in the parish of St George Hanover Square states that Harriet daughter of John and Ann Westbrook was born on August 1 1795 and baptized on August 7 of the same year consequently in January 1811 her age was nearly sixteen and a half.

Shelley in England

were regular and well-proportioned, her hair light brown, and she "dressed with taste and simplicity" In her dress she was *simplex munditiis* Her complexion was beautifully transparent, the tint of the blush-rose shining through the lily The tone of her voice was pleasant, her speech the essence of frankness and cordiality, her spirits always cheerful, her laugh spontaneous, hearty, and joyous" Her beauty easily won Bysshe's admiration, his sister Hellen suggests that he was attracted to her because she bore the name of Harriet, that of his earlier love, Miss Grove That she was the daughter of John Westbrook, who had retired on a fortune made in keeping the Mount Coffee House¹—probably also a club—was no obstacle in Bysshe's eyes It did not seem to enter into his calculation in cultivating the friendship of the lovely daughter of "Jew" Westbrook, as he was called, some say, on account of his swarthy complexion, but more probably because he may have added money-lending to his regular business On January 11, 1811, shortly after Bysshe's introductory visit to the Westbrooks' house, he requested his publisher to send Harriet a copy of his recently published novel, *St Irvyne* In writing these instructions he erred in the number of her house, which was then evidently unfamiliar to him.

¹ At 78 Lower Grosvenor Street, Grosvenor Square



3 CHAPEL STREET GROSVENOR SQUARE

THE RESIDENCE OF JOHN WESTBROOK SHELLEY'S FATHER IN LAW
THE THOROUGHFARE HAS BEEN REBUILT IN RECENT YEARS
AND RENAMED ALDFORD STREET



Harriet Westbrook

From that time both Bysshe and Harriet corresponded with one another. After his expulsion from Oxford while he was living in Poland Street he was a frequent visitor at Chapel Street. Cut off from all intercourse with his family he probably found the society of Harriet and her sister very pleasant while they were obviously flattered by his attentions. Eliza the elder Miss Westbrook was ten or eleven years her sister's senior had none of her good looks but resembled her father in possessing dark eyes and a quantity of coarse black hair. Harriet's beauty no doubt attracted more attention than was pleasant to Eliza who while 'mothering' her may have prompted Mr Westbrook to keep her at school.

Bysshe told Hogg on April 18 that Miss Westbrook had at that moment called on him with her sister. It certainly was very kind of her. When at length the younger girl was sent back to school Bysshe wrote ¹ My little friend Harriet W. is gone to her prison house. She is quite well in health at least so she says though she looks very much otherwise. I saw her yesterday. I went with her [? and her sister] to Miss H. and walked about Clapham Common with them for two hours. The youngest is a most amiable girl the eldest is really

¹ Shelley to Hogg April 24 1811

² Miss Hawkes who succeeded Miss Fenning as headmistress to the school

Shelley in England

conceited, but very condescending I took the Sacrament with her on Sunday ”

That Harriet seemed to be setting her cap at Bysshe, Hogg evidently feared, and he accused his friend, perhaps ironically, of talking “ philosophically of her kindness ” in calling on him Bysshe, however, thought that she was “ very charitable and good,” as in paying these visits to a solitary young man, ostracised from his family on account of religious differences, she exposed herself to much possible odium Bysshe admitted that “ to point out to her a road which leads to perfection ” would perhaps be scarcely doing her a kindness, and it might induce positive unhappiness, and “ not repay the difficulties of the progress ” Then he adds, as if on reflection “ If trains of thought, development of mental energies, influence in any degree a future state, if this is *even* possible—if it stands on *at all* securer ground than mere hypothesis, then is it not a service ? ” Bysshe concluded this letter with the announcement that he was going to Miss Westbrook’s to dinner “ Her father is out ”

A day or two after Bysshe wrote¹ from the Groves’ house at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, again with regard to Harriet At last he seemed to have a vague suspicion that all was not right, that Eliza was playing the part

¹ Shelley to Hogg, April 28, 1811

Harriet Westbrook

of match maker, and doing her best to secure him for her sister. Women generally discovered pretty soon that Bysshe's heart was his most vulnerable point. I don't know where I am where I will be. Future present past, is all a mist. It seems as if I had begun existence anew, under auspices so unfavourable. Yet no! That is stupid! My poor little friend has been ill. Her sister sent for me the other night. I found her on a couch pale. Her father is civil to me very strangely. The sister is too civil by half. She began talking about *L'Amour*. I philosophised and the youngest said she had such a headache that she could not bear conversation. Her sister then went away and I stayed till half past twelve. Her father had a large party below. He invited me. I refused. Yes! The fiend! the wretch shall fall! Harriet will do for one of the crushers and the eldest (Emily)² with some taming will do too. They are both very clever and the youngest (my friend) is amiable. Yesterday she was better to-day her father compelled her to go to Clapham whither I have conducted her and I am now returned.

Harriet Westbrook who was much older than the rest of the pupils disliked returning to school and Bysshe was only too ready to conclude that she was

¹ Mr. Rossetti suggested that Shelley is here referring to Intolerance.

² She was generally known as Eliza. This may be a slip of the pen or she may have possessed both names.

Shelley in England

a martyr to her father's tyranny She may have boasted of her acquaintance with Bysshe, who had not only taken her to the school but had paid her attentions when he visited his sisters there, and had walked with her and Eliza Westbrook on Clapham Common He told Hogg¹ that Harriet's school-fellows would not speak to her, or even reply to her questions They called her "an abandoned wretch," and she was "universally hated", she returned this treatment, however, "with the calmest contempt" But Harriet had a champion in little Hellen, Bysshe's third sister, who, "in spite of the *infamy*," was not afraid to speak to her, because she could not see what she had done to incur the dislike of the other pupils "There are some hopes of this dear little girl," said Bysshe slyly, with reference to Harriet Westbrook "She would be a divine little scion of infidelity if I could get hold of her I think my lessons have taken effect "

As a matter of fact, it was with horror that Harriet had learnt that Bysshe was an atheist, for such he was described at the school She did not at first understand the meaning of the word, but when it was explained to her, she was "truly petrified" She could not conceive how it was possible that he could for one moment continue to live after professing such

¹ Shelley to Hogg, (?) May 1, 1811

Harriet Westbrook

principles and she solemnly declared that he should never change hers. When she wrote to Bysshe Harriet endeavoured to shake his opinions but she declined to listen to any of his arguments¹

Bysshe found the solitude of Poland Street unbearable, notwithstanding his habit of philosophising. He was rather young to derive much solace from philosophy and confessed that he could not endure the horror the evil which comes to *self* in solitude. He wanted to go home and said "I long for the moment to see my sisters." So he spent most of his time at Miss Westbrook's whose character he thought he had been too hasty in criticising. He now thought her 'amiable' because he wished to be charitable though not perhaps 'amiable' in the same degree as her pretty sister. One day he wrote to Hogg from the Westbrooks' house in Chapel Street and while Eliza no doubt desiring to please him was reading an odd book for a young woman of those days—none other than Voltaire's *Dictionnaire Philosophique*—Bysshe filled his letter, as usual with many of the topics that interested him.

Hogg apparently had been discussing in a former letter the prospects of his future income and something that he had written caused Bysshe to accuse

¹ In a letter to Miss Hitchener (March 14 1812) Harriet gives this account of her early acquaintance with Shelley.

² Shelley to Hogg (?) May 12 1811

Shelley in England

him of wishing to be a "grandee" Bysshe computed that "when heaven takes your father," as his eldest son Hogg would probably have some three thousand pounds a year of property, perhaps convertible from three into five per cent Bysshe confessed that were he in such a position it would puzzle him how to act with such a store, although he himself would not consent to own even half that sum He believed, however, that he could see why Hogg would not relinquish his inheritance "You think it would possibly add to the happiness of some being to whom you cherish a remote hope of some approximative union—the indissoluble, sacred union of Love" He was probably thinking of Elizabeth and of his own case when he wrote these words That he was ready to fall in love seems to be shown in some lines in a poem that he enclosed in this letter to Hogg, with the excuse that his effusion was the result of a "strange momentary mania"

"And oh ! when on the blest reviving
The day-star dawns of love,
Each energy of soul surviving
More vivid, soars above
Hast thou ne'er felt the rapturous thrill,
Like June's warm breath, athwart thee fly,
O'er each idea then to steal
When other passions die ?"

It was love, not matrimony, for which he yearned
But Hogg was for supporting the marriage bond, and

Harriet Westbrook

Bysshe replied with the following ominous remarks as if prompted by Miss Westbrook's presence Marriage ' he said, quoting Godwin is hateful detestable A kind of ineffable sickening disgust seizes my mind when I think of this most despotic most unrequired fetter which prejudice has forged to confine its energies Yes! this is a superstition and superstition must perish before this can fall' For men never speak of the author of religion as of what he really was but as being what the world would have made him Anti matrimonialism is as necessarily connected with scepticism as if religion and marriage began their course together How can we think well of the world? Surely these moralists suppose young men are like young puppies (as perhaps *generaliter* they are) not endowed with vision until a certain age

Still dwelling on this subject in another letter¹ to Hogg, who had been writing in support of matrimony he wrote I could not endure the bare idea of marriage even if I had no arguments in favour of my dislike but I think I have and then after discussing the matter as he said *à la Faber* he concluded "For God's sake if you want more argument read the marriage service before you *think* of allowing an amiable beloved female to submit to such degradation

¹ Shelley to Hogg (?) May 13 1811

Shelley in England

This letter was written from his uncle's place at Cuckfield, and on the eve of his departure for Field Place "Misses Westbrook are now very well I have arranged a correspondence with them, when I will impart more of the character of the eldest"

One at least of Eliza Westbrook's letter to Bysshe has been preserved The following, although unsigned, is sealed with the initial "E," and had fallen into Mr Shelley's hands, who attested it with his endorsement, "Miss Westbrook" One cannot say exactly what was the nature of Bysshe's "proposition," but it was evidently with regard to removing Harriet from school Is it possible that he thought of obtaining an invitation for her to visit either Field Place or his uncle's house at Cuckfield? Eliza's request, however, that Bysshe should not talk about his intimacy with the Westbrooks would have revealed her designs to anyone but the most unsophisticated

Eliza Westbrook to P B Shelley

LONDON, May,

[Postmark, June 11, 1811]

MY DEAR MR SHELLEY,—It gives me pleasure to see from the trend of your last letter that your mind has greatly recovered its accustomed cheerfulness, and that you are otherwise amended by a change of residence

I am obliged to you for your proposition in regard

Harriet Westbrook

to Harriett but I am in hopes she will leave school for good—there has been another little misunderstanding between the friends at Clapham which has rendered the situation of my sister so completely uncomfortable my Father has now determined upon her not returning there again he talks of wholly retiring into the country but not to any distant part It is so much my wish to leave this busy scene that I shall do all in my power to expedite his plan

You will not take any notice to your sister Mary or indeed any of your family of your intimacy with us for particular reasons which I will explain to you when next I have the pleasure of seeing you —Adieu
ever yours obliged

[Addressed]

P B SHELLEY Esq

Capt. Palford's R N

Cuckfield Sussex

Hogg realised that the scent of danger was stronger than ever owing to his friend's unrestricted correspondence with Harriet and her sister and he again uttered a word of warning I cannot so deeply see said Bysshe who was disinclined to take the hint 'into the inferences of actions as to come to the odd conclusion which you observed in the matter of Miss Westbrook' ¹ The elder sister improved upon Bysshe's acquaintance an acquaintance developed in the course of his correspondence with her But he was not sure whether she appeared to advantage

¹ Shelley to Hogg May 19 1811

Shelley in England

merely by comparison "with surrounding indifference and degradation "

He was, however, no very sure judge of character, and the opinions he formed of his acquaintances too frequently were self-delusory, resulting from the interchange of letters. He admitted Hogg's superiority, as a man of the world, in his estimates of people. Bysshe's unsophisticated little friend Harriet was still kept at school, or "prison," as he calls it. "There is something in *her* more noble, yet not so cultivated as the elder—a larger diamond, yet not so highly polished. Her indifference to, her contempt of surrounding prejudice, are certainly fine. But perhaps the other wants opportunity. I confess that I cannot mark female excellence, or its degrees, by a print of the foot, a waving of vesture, &c., as in your case, but perhaps this criterion only holds good when an *angel*, not a mortal, is in the case "

By May 15 Bysshe was once more under the paternal roof, and for a time able to be with his mother and sister. On his arrival at Field Place he learnt that Elizabeth had been ill with scarlet fever, but she was now getting better, though hardly yet able to speak. Bysshe reproached himself for having misjudged her, and it was with "some emotions of pleasure mingled with those of pain" when he learnt that illness had prevented her from writing to him. Mr Shelley had

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forbidden Bysshe to have any conversation with her but Captain Pilfold had talked him over and so brother and sister were able to see one another with restrictions A part of his time was spent in reading to Elizabeth but he realised that he no longer had her full confidence In talking to his mother whom he found 'quite rational' she confessed to no belief either in prayer or thanksgiving and was of the opinion that a good man whether philosopher or Christian will do very well in whatever future state awaits us¹ Indeed he now believed that the mass of mankind were Christians only in name and that there was no reality in their religion Certain members of my family he said are no more Christians than Epicurus himself was Even Mr Shelley himself the advocate of Paley while with Captain Pilfold had unburdened himself so far as to say To tell you the truth *I am a sceptic!* Ah! eh! thought the captain old birds are not to be caught with chaff Are you indeed? was the cold reply and no more was got out of him

Captain Pilfold who had taken up Bysshe's cause made him welcome at his house to which he was glad to return after spending a few days in the gloomy atmosphere of Field Place I am now with my uncle he wrote to Hogg¹ he is a very hearty

¹ Shelley to Hogg May 19 1811 ¹⁶ May 6

Shelley in England

fellow, and has behaved very nobly to me, in return for which I have illuminated him A physician, named Dr J——, dined with us last night, who is a red-hot saint, the Captain attacked him, warm from *The Necessity*, and the Doctor went away very much shocked” Still writing from Cuckfield, some days later, he said, “I take the opportunity of the Old Boy’s absence in London to persuade my mother and Elizabeth, who is now quite well, to come to Cuckfield, because there they will be three, or more, days absent from this Killjoy, as I name him”

During his visit to Cuckfield, Bysshe made the acquaintance of Miss Elizabeth Hitchener, who kept a school at Hurstpierpoint, and numbered among her pupils two of the Captain’s daughters She was some ten years older than Bysshe, but her views were liberal, and she was quite ready to discuss with him his favourite subjects of religious philosophy and philanthropy He was at this time exactly in the mood for such an acquaintance to whom he could pour out his soul in long, unrestrained and frequent letters written in his bold flowing hand Bysshe was charmed with his new friend, whom he soon invested with all the virtues and attributes he most admired, and it was with characteristic enthusiasm that he enlisted her among his correspondents Miss Hitchener was a worthy woman who had endeavoured to make

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the best of her opportunities and as the daughter of humble parents they were few Her father it is said was formerly a smuggler a not uncommon occupation in Sussex in his day but it had its dangers as well as its compensations and he had abandoned it for the trade of innkeeper changing his name at the same time from Yorke to that of Hitchener Shelley began to write to Miss Hitchener shortly after he returned to London and her letters soon became scarcely less ardent than his

While at Oxford Mr Strong, an acquaintance of Shelley had shown him the manuscript of some verses by a Miss Janetta Philipps Shelley much admired the verses and offered to print them at his own expense, as he stated that in doing so it would ' make even some balances ' with his printer Mr Strong promised to deliver the manuscript for that purpose to Shelley who fearing his intention might shock the delicacy of a noble female mind " was resolved that his assistance should not be made known to the authoress After Shelley's expulsion Mr Strong declined to have anything further to do with him Shelley however, was still interested in the fate of her poems and nothing daunted addressed a letter to Miss Philipps from Field Place on May 16 1811

wholly unacquainted unIntroduced except through the medium of " her " exquisite poetry " He ex

Shelley in England

plained the circumstances which had prompted him to write to her, and still solicited "the honour" of being allowed to bear the expenses of printing the book

The poems were subsequently issued in 1811 at Oxford by Collingwood & Co, to subscribers, of whom there is a list in the volume occupying ten pages, and among them are the names of Mr P B Shelley (six copies), Miss Shelley, Field Place, Miss Hellen Shelley, Mrs Grove, Lincoln's Inn Fields (three copies), Miss H Westbrook, Thomas Medwin, Esq, Horsham, Mr Munday, Bookseller, Oxford, Mr Graham, 29 Vine Street, Piccadilly, and Mr Philipps (six copies) The last named, who subscribed for the same number of copies as Shelley, was probably a relative of the author, no one else taking as many copies Miss Philipps seems to have declined Shelley's offer, but the evidence is there that he was active in obtaining subscribers for the volume The sale of the 525 copies of the book, for which the list of subscribers accounts, would probably have been sufficient to defray the printer's bill Miss Philipps' relatives and acquaintances, it is stated, were mostly resident in Bridgwater and its neighbourhood, and she does not appear to have been connected with Phillips, the Worthing printer, whose name is spelt differently

There is little in the poems to justify Shelley's high opinion, but the little volume is interesting as a proof

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of his generosity to a fellow poet. He concluded his letter to Miss Philipps by saying that in the pamphlet which caused his expulsion from Oxford he had questioned the existence of a Deity. In justice to myself ' he added ' I must also declare that a proof of *his* existence or even the divine mission of Christ would in no matter alter one idea on the subject of morality. Miss Philipps replied and in acknowledging her letter he admitted that it had caused him extreme surprise. One gathers that she declined his offer, and expressed disapproval of his principles but there is nothing to show whether his request that she would write again was ever granted.

Shelley found that time dragged along wearily enough at Field Place. ' I have nothing to tell you which you will like to hear ' he wrote to Hogg on June 2nd. ' The affected contempt of narrowed intellects for the exertion of mental powers which they either will not or cannot comprehend is always a tale of disgust. What must it be when involving a keen disappointment ? I have hesitated for three days on what I should do what I should say. I am your friend you acknowledge it. You have chosen me and we are inseparable. not the tyranny of idiots can affect it not the misrepresentations of the interested.

Hogg however was no longer available for personal companionship and the confidence of his sister Eliza

Shelley in England

beth, as he said, "even is diminished, that confidence once so unbounded · but it is to be regained" He had written a long letter from Cuckfield, probably one of his appeals that she should "assert her claim to an unfettered use of reason," but her answer was unsympathetic His letters to Hogg filled a part of his time

Bysshe had suffered a great disappointment when his father cancelled Hogg's promised visit to Field Place It was the wish of his heart that his friend should fall in love with his sister Elizabeth, and he had done as much as was possible to further his object by talking about one to the other Sometimes Bysshe had shown Hogg's letters to Elizabeth, or delivered his messages to her Since Bysshe's return to Field Place he had found her so changed and unsympathetic that apparently she gave him no encouragement to discuss his friend But Bysshe, still cherishing the idea of making the match, devised the following plan Hogg was to be secretly admitted to Field Place no one except Bysshe was to know of his presence in the house, and he was to occupy a room from the window of which he was to see Elizabeth in the garden and to fall in love with her The arrangements for this scheme must be given in Bysshe's words ¹ "Come then, my dear friend

¹ Shelley to Hogg, June 23, 1811

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happy *most* happy shall I be if you will share my little study happy that you come on an errand so likely to soothe me and restore my peace There are two rooms in this house which I have taken exclusively to myself my sister *will* not enter them and no one else *shall* these you shall inhabit with me You must content yourself to sleep upon a mattress and you will be like a State prisoner You must only walk with me at midnight for fear of discovery My window commands a view of the lawn where you will frequently see an object that will amply repay your journey—the object of my fond affections Time and opportunity must effect that in my ¹ favour with him which entreaties cannot Indeed I do not think it advisable to say too much on the subject but more when we meet Do not trouble yourself with any baggage I have plenty of clean things for you The mail will convey you from York to London whence the Horsham coach will bring you to Horsham, (news!) there I will meet you at midnight whence you shall be conveyed to your apartment Come then I entreat you I will return with you to York I almost *insist on your coming*—I shall fully expect you ’

In answer to this mad plan Hogg not unnaturally

¹ Shelley may have written that : your favour with her and that this is one of Hogg's altered or careless transcripts The original is not a lable fo comparison

Shelley in England

accused Bysshe of being unreasonable Bysshe replied,¹ "I was mad! You know that very little sets my horrid spirits in motion I drank a glass or two of wine at my mother's instigation, then began raving She, to quiet me, gave me pens, ink, and paper, and I wrote to you Elizabeth is, indeed, an unworthy companion of the Muses I do not rest much on her poetry now Miss Philipps betrayed twice the genius greater amiability, if to affect the feeling is a proof of the latter"

Bysshe did not, however, abandon his project that his sister Elizabeth should make a match with Hogg, and he also looked forward to the time when he could join his friend In writing somewhat later (from Cwm Elan towards the end of July) Bysshe said, "I did *execrate* my existence once, when I first discovered that there was no chance of our being united To enjoy your society and that of my sister has now for some months been my aim She is not what she was you continue the same, and may you ever be so" Bysshe, who had at one time so much admired Elizabeth's verses, was disappointed, and he now thought that Miss F D Browne² ("certainly a tigress") surpassed his sister "in poetical talents"

¹ Hogg to Shelley, (?) June 27, 1811

² Felicia Dorothea Browne, afterwards Mrs Hemans (1796-1835), whose "Poems" were printed in 1808, when the youthful authoress was twelve years old

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A fortnight later he wrote ¹ from London to tell Hogg that he had a rival in his sister's affections in the person of John Grove, whose chances of success, he thought were equal to Hogg's. It was difficult to see how this could be the case when Grove had the opportunity of frequently seeing and conversing with Miss Shelley whereas Hogg had never seen her. But according to Bysshe Grove was not a favoured lover nor ever could be. She feared she would lose an entertaining acquaintance who sometimes enlivened her solitude by his conversation by his conversion into the more serious character of a lover'. She seems to have rejected the advances of John Grove whose attachment was that of a cool unimpassioned selector of a companion for life. Bysshe however, was not able to give Hogg much hope as he had no reason to suppose that her rejection proceeded from any augmented leniency for another.

Nor did Bysshe find his mother very companionable.

I am a perfect hermit not a being to speak with! I sometimes exchange a word with my mother on the subject of the weather upon which she is irresistibly

Shelley to Hogg from London Aug 15 1811. This letter like many others printed by Hogg in his *Life of Shelley* contains some passages which are not easy of explanation. The late Lady Shelley however had an opportunity of correcting this and some other letters of Shelley with the originals and her copy (in Lorl Abinger's hand) was printed by M. Koszul in *La Jeunesse de Shelley* and in the Appendix to the new edition of *Shelley's Letters* 1912 and 1915.

Shelley in England

eloquent, otherwise all is deep silence! I wander about this place, walking all over the grounds, with no particular object in view" He was too unsettled in mind to do any writing except now and then a letter to Hogg or the Miss Westbrooks, and he confessed himself "tired and ennuied" He found little to read except Miss Owenson's *Missionary*, which he described as "a divine thing, Luxima, the Indian, is an angel What a pity that we cannot incorporate these creations of fancy, the very thoughts of them thrill the soul!" Another book that had excited Shelley's interest at this time was Southey's *Curse of Kehama*, which he described to his newly-made friend, Miss Elizabeth Hitchener, as his "most favourite poem" He was already a reader of the poetry of Scott and Campbell, for neither of which he seems to have cared Southey's poetry was his first experience of the new influence in letters, and it remained Shelley's ideal until he later became acquainted with, and learnt to appreciate, the work of his two great contemporaries, Wordsworth and Coleridge

Hogg asserted that a newspaper never found its place into Shelley's rooms at Oxford, but he did not disdain them at Field Place His fancy was diverted by reading about the Prince Regent's *fête* at Carlton House on June 19, 1811, described by a journalist of the day as on a "scale of unprecedented

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magnificence " The *Morning Chronicle* which came out with a long account of the banquet contains the following passages 'His Royal Highness the Prince Regent entered the State apartments about a quarter past nine o'clock dressed in a scarlet coat most richly and elegantly ornamented in a very novel style with gold lace with a brilliant star of the Order of the Garter

The conservatory presented the fine effect of a lofty aisle in an ancient cathedral

The grand table extended the whole length of the conservatory and across Carlton House to the length of 200 feet

Along the centre of the table about six inches above the surface a canal of pure water continued flowing from a silver fountain beautifully constructed at the head of the table Its faintly waving artificial banks were covered with green moss and aquatic flowers gold and silver fish gudgeons &c , were seen to swim and sport through the bubbling current which produced a pleasing murmur when it fell and formed a cascade at the outlet At the head of the table above the fountain sat his Royal Highness the *Prince Regent on a throne of crimson velvet trimmed with gold* The throne commanded a view of the company consisting of among other distinguished guests the Bourbon Princes What think you ' wrote Shelley ¹ on June 20 of the bubbling *brooks* and

¹ To Elizabeth Hitchener

Shelley in England

mossy banks at Carlton House—the *allées vertes*, &c. ? It is said that this entertainment will cost £120,000 Nor will it be the last bauble which the nation must buy to amuse this overgrown bantling of Regency How admirably this growing spirit of ludicrous magnificence tallies with the disgusting splendours of the stage of the Roman Empire which preceded its destruction Yet here are a people advanced in intellectual improvement wilfully rushing to a revolution, the natural death of all commercial empires, which must plunge them in the barbarisms from which they are slowly rising ”

But the ludicrous side of the banquet also appealed to Shelley, who wrote to Edward Fergus Graham, above the signature of Philobasileus, a burlesque letter, calling upon him to join in a “ loyal endeavour to magnify, if magnification be possible, our Noble Royal Family In fine, Græme, thou hast an harp of fire and I a pen of honey Let, then, the song roll—wide let it roll—Take thou thy tuning-fork—for the ode is coming—lo ! Fargy, thou art as the bard of old, I as the poet of the other times When kings murdered men, then was the lay of praise poured upon their ears—when adulation fled afar, and truth, white-robed seraph, descended to whisper into royal ears - They were not so rude as to say, ‘Thou Tyrant’ No ! Nor will I . see if I do ”

Harriet Westbrook

On the back of the sheet he wrote out this stanza of his version of the 'Marseillaise'

Tremble Kings despised of man !
Ye traitors to your Country
Tremble ! Your parricidal plan
At length shall meet its destiny

We are all soldiers fit to fight
But if we sink in glory's night
Our mother EARTH will give ye new
The brilliant pathway to pursue
Which leads to DEATH or VICTORY¹

Charles Grove mentions the Regent's *fete* at Carlton House as being much commented on in the papers it was disapproved of and laughed at by the Opposition of which Bysshe was one. He also states that Bysshe wrote a poem on the subject of about fifty lines which he published immediately wherein he apostrophised the Prince as sitting on the bank of his tiny river and he amused himself with throwing copies into the carriages of persons going to Carlton House after the *fete*. No copy of this satire has as yet been discovered but Grove recalled the following fragment

By the mossy brink
With me the Prince shall sit and think
Shall muse in visioned Regency
Rapt in bright dreams of dawning Royalty

¹ This letter was first printed by M. H. Buxton Forman in *The Shelley Library* p. 24. The MS. of Shelley's complete translation of the 'Marseillaise' is in the possession of his grandson Mr. Charles E. Daile who allowed M. A. Koszul to print it in his work *La Jeunesse de Shelley* where it appears in the appendix.

Shelley in England

While Bysshe was in London he had renewed acquaintance with his cousin, Thomas Grove, and his wife, who were on a visit to Lincoln's Inn Fields. Thomas Grove, the eldest son of the family, lived at Cwm Elan, a fine estate, comprising many thousands of acres, in the heart of Wales, within a few miles of Rhayader in Radnorshire. Bysshe was anxious to see the place after having heard Harriet Grove extol its beauties, and when Grove sent him an invitation early in July to visit Cwm Elan he gladly accepted it. Mr Shelley also welcomed the idea of getting his son away, as he thought the change of scene might have a happy result. Mr Whitton, who heard of the proposed visit, wrote to Mr Shelley on July 10 in a hopeful frame of mind.

"I trust with you that different scenes and habits will create different feelings in your son. He is very young, and time will, I cannot doubt, bring different reflections to his mind and beget different opinions. The course you have taken is, I think, the one best calculated to promote that end and his ultimate good. You have placed him in a situation that necessarily calls forth thought for himself, and his apparent independence is more likely to affect his mind than any restraint under which you could have placed him. Besides the general ridicule which the world would give to his doctrines will correct better than restraint

Harriet Westbrook

I trust and hope that you and Mrs Shelley will yet find comfort instead of pain in the progress of your son in life "

Bysshe was at Cwm Elan by July 15¹ and in an undated note to Hogg he wrote to announce his arrival at that place It had been his intention to take York on his way in order to see his friend He had written previously asking Hogg to procure lodgings for him in that city but his plan was discovered by Mr Shelley who promptly made its execution impossible I had a letter from my father all is found out about my inviting you to Horsham and my proposed journey to York which is thereby for a while prevented God send he does not write to your father it would annoy him I threw cold water on the rage of the old buck I question whether he has let the family into the secret of his discovery which must have been *magically* effected

Bysshe was anxious to enlist his mother's sympathy in Hogg whose letters he passed on to her She feels a warm interest in you ' Bysshe wrote to him as every woman must and I am well assured that she will do nothing prejudicial to our interests She is a good worthy woman, and although she may in some cases resemble the fish and pheasant ladies

¹ Shelley's first letter to Miss Hitchener from Cwm Elan bears the post mark date of July 15

Shelley in England

honoured with your animadversions of this morning, yet there is one altitude which they have attained, to which, I think, she cannot soar—Intolerance I have heard frequently from her since my arrival here, she is of opinion that my father could not, by ordinary means, have become acquainted with the proposed visit I regard the whole as a finesse, to which I had supposed the Honourable Member's headpiece unequal But the servants may— No, they do not even know your name”¹

In accepting his cousin's invitation to Cwm Elan, Bysshe had intended also visiting the Westbrooks, who were staying at Aberystwith He then changed his mind in order to go to York He had made no secret of his intended visit to Hogg in writing to his father from London, perhaps when he was on his way to Wales, Mr Shelley, however, replied that he might go, but he should have no money from him if he did “The case, therefore,” said Bysshe, “became one of extreme necessity, I was forced to submit, and I am now here Do not think, however, but that I shall come to see you long before you come to reside in London, but open warfare will never do, and Mr Peyton will easily swallow up Mr Shelley I shall keep quiet here for a few weeks” He had no alternative but to remain at Cwm Elan, as he did not possess

¹ Shelley to Hogg, from Rhayader, (?) August 1, 1811

Harriet Westbrook

the money to pay his fare to York I am what the sailors call banyaning I do not see a soul all is gloomy and desolate ' He seemed to derive little amusement from his chief occupations of climbing rocks exploring the scenery and reading the poetry of Frasmus Darwin But he did luxuriate in the scenery and was more astonished at its grandeur than he had expected although he was conscious that other things prevented him from admiring it as it deserved He found all else stale and unprofitable indeed this place is a great bore

But nevertheless he tried to convey to Miss Hitchener some idea of the natural beauties of the place Nature is here marked with the most impressive characters of loveliness and grandeur once I was tremulously alive to tones and scenes the habit of analysing feelings I fear does not agree with this It is spontaneous and when it becomes subject to consideration ceases to exist This valley is covered with trees so are partly the mountains that surround it Rocks piled on each other to an immense height and clouds intersecting them—in other places waterfalls midst the umbrage of a thousand shadowy trees form the principal features of the scenery I am not wholly uninfluenced by its magic in my lonely walks but I long for a thunderstorm ¹

J ly 29 1811

Shelley in England

His hosts tried to make Bysshe happy, we read of him acting as Mrs Grove's cavalier in a ride with her to Rhayader. He spoke of having been to church, where he listened to a sermon in Welsh, and was present at a christening, which "was performed out of an old broken slop-basin." He found some consolation in writing and receiving letters, though he lamented the loss of certain epistles from Hogg, which had gone astray owing to the pillage of the mail.

Bysshe had heard from the Westbrooks, and towards the last week in July he still contemplated visiting them at Aberystwith. But his frequent references to them in his correspondence had caused Hogg to employ some banter at Harriet's expense. Bysshe, however, was apparently not very well pleased with his friend's humour, and remarked, somewhat stiffly, probably on the last day of July, "Your jokes on Harriet Westbrook amuse me. It is a common error for people to fancy others in their own situation, but if I know anything about love, I am *not* in love." Still, a few days later, he had made up his mind with regard to her, and he wrote to tell Hogg, who was still at York.¹ "You will perhaps see me before you can answer this, perhaps not, Heaven knows! I shall certainly come to York, but *Harriet Westbrook* will

¹ The letter bears the Rhayader postmark, there is no date, but it was probably written in the first week of August.

Harriet Westbrook

decide whether now or in three weeks Her father has persecuted her in a most horrible way by endeavouring to compel her to go to school She asked my advice resistance was the answer at the same time that I essayed to mollify Mr W in vain! And in consequence of my advice *she* has thrown herself upon *my* protection I set off for London on Monday How flattering a distinction!—I am thinking of ten million things at once What have I said? I declare quite *ludicrous*¹ I advised her to resist She wrote to say that resistance was useless but that she would fly with me and throw herself upon my protection We shall have £200 a year when we find it run short we must live I suppose upon love! Gratitude and admiration all demand that I should love her *for ever* We shall see you at York I will hear your arguments for matrimonialism by which I am now almost convinced I can get lodgings at York I suppose Your enclosure of £10 has arrived I am now indebted to you £30 In spite of philosophy I am rather ashamed of this unceremonious exsiccation of your financial river But indeed my dear friend the gratitude which I owe you for your society and attachment ought so far to overbalance this consideration as to

¹ Professor Dowden says The ludicrous thing is that Harriet should have chosen as a protector a youth of nineteen expelled from College estranged in some degree from his family and at the present moment in want of money (*Life of Shelley* vol. i p. 174)

Shelley in England

leave me nothing but that I must, however, pay you when I can I am thinking at once of ten million things I shall come to live near you as Mr Peyton I shall be at 18 Sackville Street, at least direct there Do not send any more cash, I shall raise supplies in London ”

From this statement one gathers that Shelley had advised Harriet to resist her father's decision to send her back to school, but that, fearing she was not strong enough to defy her parent's wishes, she had offered to elope with Bysshe We should remember that he had been in constant communication with Harriet since he first met her in January 1811, a matter of some seven months¹ In a letter to Hogg, probably written about July 28, he had spoken of “a disinterested appreciation for what is in itself excellent,” evidently with reference to Harriet, though he seemed to imply that for he he had no feelings of passion But his correspondence with her and his general attitude may have encouraged her to confess her love That he had paid her a good deal of attention was certainly known to her sister, and probably to her father Bysshe's interest in Harriet, for instance, had shown itself in his attempt to move Mr Westbrook in his determination that she should return to school

¹ Hogg says, “The wooing continued for half a year at least ” (*Life of Shelley*, vol 1 p 422)

Harriet Westbrook

Hogg's timely loan had made it possible for Bysshe to escape from the solitude of Cwm Fflan. 'Particular business has occasioned my sudden return' he wrote from London on August 10 to Miss Hitchener but he did not tell her the nature of his business namely that he had come to town to await Harriet Westbrook's final decision. To Hogg who was in his confidence he wrote on August 15 with less reserve. The late perplexing occurrence which called me to town occupies my time engrosses my thoughts I shall tell you more of it when we meet which I hope will be soon. I am now returned to London direct to me as usual at Grahams. My father is here wondering possibly at my London business. He will be more surprised soon possibly! My unfortunate friend Harriet is yet undecided not with respect to me but herself. How much my dear friend have I to tell you! In my leisure moments for thought which since I wrote have been few I have considered the important point on which you reprobated my hasty decision. The ties of love and honour are doubtless indissoluble but by the brutish force of power they are delicate and satisfactory. Yet the arguments of impracticability and what is even worse the disproportionate sacrifice which the female is called upon to make—these arguments which you have urged in a manner immediately

Shelley in England

irresistible, I cannot withstand Not that I suppose it to be likely that *I* shall directly be called upon to evince my attachment to either theory I am become a perfect convert to matrimony, not from temporising, but from *your* arguments, nor, much as I wish to emulate your virtues and liken myself to you, do I regret the prejudices of anti-matrimonialism from your example of assertion No The *one* argument, which you have urged so often with so much energy the sacrifice made by the woman, so disproportioned to any which the man can give—this alone may exculpate me, were it a fault, from uninquiring submission to your superior intellect ”

So Hogg's simple argument had won Shelley over to regard marriage at least as a measure of expediency Harriet would have been aware of this change in Bysshe's views, and it may have decided her to take the final step

Charles H Grove, in his recollections of Shelley, said that his cousin's continued correspondence with Harriet Westbrook during his visit to Wales led to his return to London and subsequent elopement with her In one of Bysshe's letters to Grove, belonging to this period, he spoke of “his summons to link his fate with another, closing his communication thus ” in adapting the words of Macbeth

“Hear it not, Percy, for it is a knell
Which summons thee to heaven or to hell !”

Harriet Westbrook

After leaving Wales Bysshe paid a short visit to Field Place¹ and while he was there he saw Tom Medwin's father the Horsham lawyer from whom he borrowed twenty five guineas but without informing him that he required the money to help him with the expenses of his forthcoming journey to Edinburgh. He also probably called on his uncle Captain Pilfold.

On his return to town he went as usual to Lincoln's Inn Fields and Charles Grove accompanied him when he called on Harriet at Chapel Street. Mr Shelley was now no longer blind to the fact that something was going on between Bysshe and the younger Miss Westbrook as he evidently instructed Whiston to call on Mr Grove (apparently John Grove) and to find out the exact state of affairs. The good lawyer was puzzled what to do and how to prevent if possible such an awful calamity as a misalliance between Sir Bysshe's heir and the daughter of the retired coffee-house keeper. He may not have relished the prospect of encountering Bysshe but from the following letter dated August 26 the day after the birds had flown he was evidently prepared to do anything at the bidding of his client—even to calling on Mr Westbrook or at

¹ Shelley to Miss Hitchener from London August 10 1811. I shall be at Field Place to-morrow and shall probably see you before September.

² Professor Dowden says that Bysshe had arranged his plans at John Grove's house without his knowledge but with his connivance as his aider and abettor (*Life of Shelley* vol. i p. 17).

Shelley in England

Carlton House He was zealous enough to have gone to the Vatican if Mr Shelley had so desired it

“Mr Grove is out of town or I should have seen him I fear that by knowing so much of your son’s conduct as you must possess by his residing with you will cause you and Mrs Shelley much additional anxiety, and you will no doubt do well to let him go elsewhere An inquiry by me into his pursuits in this place must, as you know, be very difficult, and it is highly probable that the father [Mr Westbrook] may be at least passive if not aiding in the intercourse between the young persons Your authority alone can influence your son, and whether that influence will be sufficient to protect him against the extreme folly of his present pursuit I am led to doubt, but if you shall think proper to authorise me to call at the Prince of Wales and on your son and on Mr Westbrook I will do so, but I have no hope of effecting your wish or of inducing your son to avoid any act of indiscretion—his will alone governs and leads his conduct ”

Sir Bysshe had been told of his grandson’s doings, as Whitton wrote to him on the same date as the above letter that he feared Mr Shelley would have trouble with his son, who seems to be “ungovernable, and to have no will but his passions I have offered,” he said, “to see him and others about him if his father shall

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authorise me to do so but without his authority I shall not like to meddle with such a chicken for he has much confidence and I am not in the habit of receiving from young persons their indelicate conduct

In his letter of October 11 1811 to Miss Hitchener Shelley gave her an account of the circumstances that led him to marry Harriet Westbrook He was at that period attentively watching over his sister Elizabeth

designing if possible to add her to the list of the good the disinterested and free He therefore desired to learn something of the character of her friend Harriet whom he asked to correspond with him She complied and while he was in Wales her frequent letters interested him but he became alarmed at their despondent tone and her constant allusions to suicide One letter more despairing than the rest caused Shelley to come to London Her altered looks shocked him and when he learnt the cause that she had become violently attached to him and feared that he should not return the attachment he promised to unite his fate with hers Her spirits revived while he was in London and on leaving her he promised to return to town at her bidding When shortly afterwards her father wanted her to go back to school she wrote to Shelley who came to London and proposed marriage

CHAPTER XII

THE ELOPEMENT, AND AFTER

Shelley elopes with Harriet Westbrook to Edinburgh—Their marriage—Appeals to his father—Hogg's arrival—His account of their life in Edinburgh—Captain Pilfold's friendliness and help—Mr Shelley learns of the marriage, and stops supplies—Bysshe's letters to his father—Leaves Edinburgh for York—Mr Shelley's correspondence with Hogg, senior—His reckless conclusions—Bysshe leaves York for Sussex—He reproves his father—Correspondence with Whitton—Graham and Elizabeth Shelley—The Duke of Norfolk's interest in Bysshe—Mr Shelley frightened

ONE evening, late in August 1811, probably Saturday, the 24th of that month, Bysshe made his way to a small coffee-house in Mount Street, near Mr Westbrook's house in Chapel Street, and despatched a note to Harriet in which he named the hour on the following day that a hackney coach would be in waiting at the coffee-house to receive her. On Sunday morning, August 25, Charles Grove and Bysshe arrived at Mount Street some time before Harriet was expected. Breakfast was ordered and ended, and yet Harriet did not appear. While Bysshe waited, he amused himself by flinging across the street the shells of the oysters on which they had breakfasted, and said, "Grove, this is a *Shelley* business." Harriet at length appeared,

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and the three were soon on their way to the Bull and Mouth Tavern in the city from whence the coaches started for Edinburgh by way of York. But as the mails did not leave till the evening there were some hours of waiting before Charles Grove had bidden farewell to Bysshe and his bride¹. They travelled from London to Edinburgh without breaking the journey but at York Bysshe wrote a hasty note which was brought to Hogg's lodgings the next morning

P B Shelley to T J Hogg

MY DEAREST FRIEND—Direct to the Edinburgh post office—my own name. I passed to night with the Mail. Harriet is with me. We are in a slight pecuniary distress. We shall have seventy five pounds on Sunday until when can you send £10? Divide it in two—Yours
PERCY SHELLEY

Whether Bysshe had decided to go to Edinburgh when he left London is not quite clear from the following letter to his father which may have been written before he left town. Did he intend to go to York and from thence to Ireland via Holyhead? If this were so he probably altered his determination in the coach. His travelling companion a part of the way was a young Scotch advocate to whom Bysshe con-

¹ This account of Bysshe's departure is derived from Professor Dowden's *Life of Shelley* vol. 1 pp. 17-174.

Shelley in England

fided the object of his journey The young lawyer told them how to get married according to the law of Scotland, and, if Bysshe had ever seriously intended going to Ireland, he changed his mind and continued on his way to Edinburgh

P B Shelley to Timothy Shelley

[*Postmark* HOUGHTON, Aug 26, 1811]

MY DEAR FATHER,—Doubtless you will be surprised at my sudden departure, you will be more surprised at its finish, but it is little worth the while of its inhabitants to be affected at the occurrences of this world

I have always considered my clothes, papers, gun, &c, as my own property

I cannot think, altho' I confess it has been hinted to me, that you will condescend to the pitiful revenge for the uneasiness which I may have occasioned, of detaining these Will you direct them to Charles Grove, Esqr, Lincoln's Inn Fields

At present I have little time

You will hear from me at Holyhead more fully and particularly —With sincerest respect, your ever affect son,

P B SHELLEY

[Addressed]

T SHELLEY, Esq, M P,
Field Place,
Horsham,
Sussex

Bysshe had made a good way on his journey when he despatched this letter, and, as the postmark of

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Houghton le Spring shows he was in the neighbourhood of Durham Mr Shelley endorsed it as was his habit ' Sunday morning ye 25th Aug he borrowed £10 of Mr Dunn saying he was just come from Wales and was going home directly he had paid his fare Reed this letter Aug 27 by post "

As soon as this letter reached Mr Shelley he hastened up to London and summoned his lawyer to confer with him on its contents and Bysshe's elopement with Harriet Perhaps he talked of disinheriting his son for the abstract of the settlements of the Sussex estates and other deeds were got out and carefully scrutinised by Mr Whitton with the result that he found that Bysshe was tenant in tail in remainder under both settlements and that there was not any power of revocation and new appointment Mr Shelley accompanied by Whitton then proceeded to Chapel Street and had a lengthy talk with Mr Westbrook and his daughter Eliza and obtained from them the circumstances of Harriet's elopement On the following day August 28 there was a further conference on the same subject at which Mr Shelley Mr Westbrook Whitton Grove (probably John) and Desse—Mr Westbrook's solicitor—attended¹ These meetings must have been far from pleasant

¹ From information in Whitton's minute book August 7 and 28 1811

Shelley in England

the only decision Mr Shelley arrived at, of which we are sure, was a determination to stop Bysshe's allowance and to leave his letters unanswered

Acting on the advice of his travelling companion, as soon as Bysshe arrived in Edinburgh, he took the preliminary steps for his marriage with Harriet It was necessary, according to the law, first to obtain a proclamation of banns, entailing a residence of six weeks in the parish, and afterwards for the marriage to be solemnised by a minister of religion In the absence of personal knowledge on the part of the session clerk that the parties had resided in the parish for the required time, or that they were unmarried, they were required to bring a certificate signed by two householders and an elder Such a certificate, evidently falsified, was discovered some years ago¹ It is contained in a register of certificates for the proclamation of banns of marriage "of soldiers, carters, smiths, and labourers," and is signed by "Percy Bysshe Shelley, as well by William Cumming and Patr Murray" The certificate was afterwards entered in the books of the Register House, Edinburgh, on August 28, 1811² Hitherto no evidence has been

¹ By Mr James G Ferguson, City Session Clerk at Edinburgh, among the city archives See *Chambers's Journal*, March 31, 1900, for an interesting side light on the subject

² Shelley lost no time, as he could hardly have arrived at Edinburgh until the evening of August 27

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published that Shelley was actually married in Edinburgh. It is possible however now for the first time to give proof in the following certificate the date of the ceremony is unfortunately not stated

In a document however connected with his re marriage in 1814 the date is given as August 29 (the day after that on the certificate) when he was joined in holy matrimony by the Rev — Robertson minister of the Church of Scotland at his dwelling house in the city of Edinburgh. From this wording it is not clear whether the minister's or Shelley's house was the place of marriage¹. The following certificate of marriage is practically in the same words as the certificate of banns but with the endorsement of the minister

Marriage

EDINBURGH August 28 1811

That Mr Percy Bysshe Shelley Farmer and Miss Harriet Westbrook St Andrews Church Parish Daughter of Mr John Westbrook London

That the parties are free unmarried of legal age and not within the forbidden Degrees and she has resided in Edinburgh upwards of six weeks preceding the proclamation of Banns is certified to me for which I shall be answerable And are orderly proclaimed in several Churches in this City in order to marriage

¹ This document is given in full under 1814 where his re marriage is described

Shelley in England

and no objections made why the same may not be solemnised, is certified by

J FETTES, D S Clerk

Certified by Mr Patrick Murray, Teacher, and Mr William Cumming, both of Edinburgh

Endorsed as follows

The within designed Parties were married before
Witnesses by me, JOSEPH ROBERTSON,
Minister

Bysshe had found lodgings at a handsome house in George Street Peacock tells us that the journey had absorbed Shelley's stock of money, but he "immediately told his landlord who they were and what they had come for, and the exhaustion of their resources, and asked him if he would take them in and advance them money to get married, and carry them on till they could get a remittance This the man agreed to do on condition that Shelley would treat him and his friends to a supper in honour of the occasion" It was therefore arranged accordingly But, notwithstanding the landlord's assistance, Shelley had to repay him, and now his funds were very low His bride could not be expected to subsist on the poet's meagre fare of bread and raisins, and no course remained to him but to apply in advance to his father for his quarterly allowance of £50

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P B Shelley to Timothy Shelley

EDINBURGH Aug 30 1811

MY DEAR FATHER — I know of no one to whom I can apply with greater certainty of success when in distress than you I must own that I am not so frugal as could be wished, but I know you are kind to forgive youthful errors and will perhaps be good enough to enclose me a Dft for £50 Mr Graham will take care to forward your letter There is not a creature in Edinburgh tis as dull as London in the dog days there is however much worth seeing, it rains now but a friend of mine promises if it holds up to lionize me Holyrood, Arthur's Seat and the Castle will of course be objects of my attention

If I move I shall continue to write but as I remain here until the receipt of your answer in consequence of having incurred a slight debt all letters may be forwarded by Graham

I hope Mother Sister and all are well my love to them — With great respect your aff Son

P B SHELLEY

[Addressed]

T SHELLEY Esq

Miller s Hotel

Westr Bridge

London

[Readdressed]

Horsham

Sussex

If not there to be immediately forwarded

Mr Shelley paid not the slightest heed to his son s appeal Captain Pilfold however was ready with some words of sympathy for his nephew ' To be con foundedly angry is all very well ' wrote the bluff old

Shelley in England

Captain, "but to stop supplies is a great deal too bad" Mr Westbrook was not any more accommodating than Mr. Shelley, for he also declined to help the young couple, with whom he made a show of being exceedingly angry

It is noticeable that Bysshe does not mention a word about his marriage in this letter, but he speaks of a friend who promised to show him the wonders of Auld Reekie. Perhaps this friend was the young Scotch lawyer with whom he had struck up an acquaintance in the coach from London

The long vacation had commenced, and Hogg was endeavouring to make up his mind where to spend it when Shelley's letter, announcing his flight to Edinburgh with Harriet, was put into his hands. Hogg wrote at once to his friend, promising to join him immediately, and a few days later—in the first week of September—he started out on his journey north. On arriving at Edinburgh, Hogg set about finding Shelley, whose address he obtained from the post office, and at length discovered him in the handsome front parlour of his lodgings in George Street. "He looked just as he used to look at Oxford," said Hogg, "and as he looked when I saw him last in April, in our trellised apartment, but now joyous at meeting again, not as then sad at parting." Hogg also met, for the first time, Shelley's "lovely young bride,

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bright as the morning—as the morning of that bright day on which we first met bright blooming radiant with youth health and beauty She was always pretty smart usually plain in her neatness, without a spot without a wrinkle not a hair out of its place” The newly married couple gave their guest a warm welcome they had received his letter and his arrival had been awaited eagerly Shelley exclaimed ‘ We have met at last once more and we will never part again!’ He insisted that Hogg should have a bed in the house and one was accordingly provided

A walk was proposed and as Harriet wished first to see the palace of the unfortunate Queen Mary they went to look at Holyrood House which Hogg described as a beggarly palace in truth’ Bysshe had to go home to write letters and he left Harriet in the charge of Hogg who was to take her to the summit of Arthur’s Seat where she was unsuccessful in persuading her cavalier to wait for Bysshe who she thought might join them when he had finished his writing Hogg tells us among other things connected with these days in Edinburgh of Bysshe’s morbid sensibility to strange discordant sounds how he shrank from the unmusical voice of the lodging house servant—a Caledonian maiden—and how Hogg and Harriet took a mischievous delight in tormenting

Shelley in England

him by making the girl speak in his presence When Shelley went every morning to the post office for his letters, "of which he received a prodigious number," he returned with supplies of fine honey, and still possessing his "sweet tooth" he much relished it Hogg teased him, saying, "It approaches cannibalism to feed on it, indeed, it is too like eating Harriet! I think you could eat Harriet herself!" "So I would," replied Bysshe, "if she were as good to eat, and I could replace her as easily!"

One Sunday, while they were taking a harmless stroll in Princes Street, Bysshe had an experience of the mirthless character of Scottish Puritanism He happened to laugh aloud at some remark of Hogg, when he was reproved by a passer-by, who said, "You must not laugh openly, in that fashion, young man If you do you will most certainly be convened" Hogg tried to scare his friend by explaining that he was in danger of being "cast into prison, and eventually banished from Scotland, for laughing in the public streets and ways on the Christian Sabbath" He was, however, tempted one Sunday to attend worship at a kirk, but the lengthy discourse of the preacher resulted in thoroughly depressing Shelley, and his friend never saw him so dejected, desponding, or despairing On another occasion, when they attended the meeting of a Catechist, Shelley was affected differently

The Elopement, and After

The good man had asked "Wha was Adam?" and receiving no answer he angrily inquired "Wha's the Deel?" at which Shelley burst forth into a shrieking laugh and rushed wildly out of doors.

Shelley obtained plenty of books some of these possibly from a public library with the aid of the young advocate his fellow passenger on his journey to Edinburgh. Among these books was a treatise of Buffon which so charmed him that he made a careful translation of it with a view to its publication. While he was busy in the mornings with this work Harriet set herself the task of translating a story from the French of Madame Cottin and having completed two volumes she copied them out in 'her neat flowing and legible feminine hand.' As Hogg remarks this feat proves that Harriet was far from being illiterate as she has sometimes been represented. He adds that he had seldom if ever met a girl who had read so much for her years. But he never heard her speak on the subject of religion in which he thought she was entirely uninstructed. Her chief delight was reading aloud of which exercise she was never weary and Hogg found it agreeable to listen to her. Bysshe however was not so attentive and when overcome with his fits of drowsiness he fell off to sleep his neglect was fiercely resented by his studious young wife.

While this happy trio were spending their days in

Shelley in England

conversation, walks, and study, Captain Pilfold sent his "peccant" nephew "cheerful, friendly, hearty letters," and what is more, supplies of money. Mr Shelley, who had perhaps received by September 8 but scanty information respecting his son's elopement with Harriet, addressed the following letter on that date to Hogg's father. "I wrote to you from London by the advice of a gentleman in the law, who I had advised with respecting my son having withdrawn himself from my protection, and set off for Scotland with a young female, though at that time it was conjectured he might make York in his way

"This morning I have a letter from a gentleman, who had heard from him, that he was at Edinburgh, and that H had joined him there. I think it right to give you the information, as from one parent to another, both of whom have experienced so much affliction and anxiety. God only knows what can be the end of all this disobedience."

Mr Hogg replied that he had learnt that his son had left his lodgings in York, stating that he would be absent for a few days, without saying when he would return, or where he was going. He concluded that he had gone to Edinburgh to join Bysshe, but that, as he was only allowing him such money as was necessary for his expenses, he expected that he would shortly return to York.

The Elopement, and After

The news of Bysshe's marriage had evidently thrown Mr Shelley into a violent state of agitation and had caused him to seek the advice of his friends. He naturally found them very willing to listen attentively to all that he had to tell them about his son's elopement but his want of reserve had given rise to a good deal of idle gossip which, so far from helping him had tended to increase his troubles. Some of these rumours must have reached Mr Whutton who was taking the waters at Cheltenham as he wrote from that place to his client on September 16 and offered him some sound advice. He said "Very few indeed among our friends who though they will talk a great deal about our family concerns and particularly such a circumstance as has occurred in yours will take the trouble of writing for our relief and repeated conversations and letters about it makes a source of eternal agitation to your mind and feelings and it cannot heal your wound. Do let me entreat of you to cease correspondence and conversation on the topic unless in the moment of privacy with Mrs Shelley. Be assured that I say this with the sincerest wish to add stability to your resolution and strengthen your confidence in the propriety of that determination which you state you are come to. Your correspondence with him and his with you and your family produce

Shelley in England

great discomfort and renew all the feelings of disquiet and disgust ”.

Notwithstanding Captain Pilford's helping hand, Bysshe was now feeling the pinch of poverty. It was to him a new and painful experience. He had learnt either from his uncle or from Hogg that his father was aware of his elopement, and that he was justly angry. He realised that it was not the time to apply for his allowance, but that he owed his father an apology.

P. B. Shelley to Timothy Shelley

EDINBURGH, *Sept*r 15, 1811

MY DEAR FATHER,—As some time has now elapsed since I did myself the pleasure of last addressing you, forgive me, if presuming on the inaccuracy of the post, or your own engagements of importance, that I repeat the request contained in my last.

Yet pardon me if the sincerity with which I am ever desirous to distinguish our communications compels me to unfold to you the doubts which perhaps I insult your kindness by harbouring. It has been insinuated, altho' I cannot for a moment cherish the idea, that your displeasure concerning my late proceedings has been awakened.

I can well imagine that you were surprised, nay, am willing to admit that I perhaps acted with impoliteness in quitting you without previous information, yet you surely will not regard this when you well know that business of importance superseded the attention due to these considerations.

The Elopement, and After

Proceeding on the idea suggested the vague information above alluded to that you were displeased with me permit me with the utmost humility to deprecate any anger on your part perhaps also I may succeed in pointing out its inutility and inadequacy to the happiness of anyone whom it may concern To distrust your own mind (the first consideration) which the duties of legislation demand to be unruffled which the happiness of your family requires calm, which your own peace needs to be unaffected by the base passion of anger is certainly as wrong as it is inconsistent with the Christian forbearance and forgiveness with which you are so eminently adorned The world too which considers marriage as so venial a failing would think the punishment of a father's anger infinitely disproportioned to the offence committed

That two beings who like each other's society should live together by the law of the land is too conformable to the opinion of the world for its approbation to justify any resentment on your part My mother also, and sisters in whose eyes the very venerable institution cannot fail to be regarded as at least innocent cannot fail to be sorry if deprived (excuse the vanity) of my society These points of consideration I offer more abstractedly considered and as general remarks rather than as applicable to you who doubtless have long perceived their truth you who are the best and kindest of fathers and as such possess the most dutiful and aff Son

PERCY B. SHELLEY

This letter was duly sent to Whutton, who after reading it wrote to Mr Shelley I return you the extraordinary production of your son How lost are

Shelley in England

his feelings towards you and his mother and sisters, and how much does he forget the duties of that situation which he fills, after the education he has received ”

In the letter that follows Bysshe endeavoured to argue his case from what he imagined should be the point of view of a person professing a belief in Christianity. It shows us the simple-minded side of Shelley's character to suppose that a plea for forgiveness on such a basis would have any weight with his father. Bysshe admitted that he had given his father cause for anger, but, had Mr Shelley been in any degree discerning, he might have detected the pathos underlying the appeal, or even the comicality of the circumstance, that the author of *The Necessity of Atheism* should lecture him for neglecting to act up to his religious belief.

Bysshe feared that on seeing his direction on the letter his father might decide to send it unopened to Whitton. The very personal nature of its contents was such that he would have much disliked the idea of its falling into the unsympathetic hands of the family lawyer. He therefore resorted to the pardonable subterfuge of getting the letter addressed in Hogg's handwriting, which he supposed was not known to Mr Shelley. Whether the trick succeeded it is not possible to say, but Mr Shelley endorsed the letter in pencil, “ Hogg's direction ”

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P B Shelley to Timothy Shelley

EDINBURGH Sept^r 27 1811

MY DEAR FATHER—You have not condescended to answer either of my letters altho' the subject of them was such as demanded at least your acknowledgment of their arrival I can no longer profess ignorance as to the cause of this silence nor refrain from making remarks as to the cause of it on the supposition of its bare possibility I offered a few in my last they were respectful and such as you have no right to be offended with considering that the event has turned out as my suspicions anticipated I am married--this is a circumstance which you have no right to see with regret It ought to be the ambition of a real parent to see his son honorably established you dare not assert the contrary of my present situation, it is such as the laws of my country sanction such as the very religion which you profess regards as necessary to the true state of its votaries I have availed myself of my civil rights in obtaining to myself the legal sanction of this proceeding I have neither transgressed custom policy nor even received notions of religion My conduct in this respect will bear the severest scrutiny nor do I suppose you will find one bold enough in paradox to assert that what I have done is criminal

That I did not consult you on the subject is because you could not have placed yourself in my situation nor however well calculated you may be to judge in other respects as I suppose you neither aspire to infallibility or intuition it would be next to impossible to calculate on the meer question of the taste of another particularly as your general tastes

Shelley in England

are diametrically opposed to his Let us admit even that it is an injury that I have done, let us admit that I have wilfully inflicted pain on you, and no moral considerations can palliate the heinousness of my offence Father, are you a Christian? it is perhaps too late to appeal to your love for me I appeal to your duty to the God whose worship you profess, I appeal to the terrors of that day which you believe to seal the doom of mortals, then clothed with immortality—Father, are you a Christian? Judge not, then, lest you be judged Remember the forgiveness of injuries which Christians profess and if my crime were even deadlier than parricide, forgiveness is your duty What! will you not forgive? How then can your boasted professions of Christianity appear to the world, since if you forgive not you can be no Christian—do not rather these hypocritical assumptions of the Christian character lower you in real virtue beneath the *libertine* atheist, for a moral one would practise what you preach, and quietly put in practise that forgiveness which all your vauntings cannot make you exert Forgive, then! and let me see that at least your professions do not bely your practise, rather let the world see it for if you fear not God as your Judge, this tribunal will sit in judgement on your actions I have done nothing but what is right and natural Nothing is more common than elopements between young people, the unforgiving spirit of fathers is now become banished to antiquated farces and silly novels, you hope perhaps to set the fashion, but I have much hope that the world rather than imitating, would laugh at your precedent But by forgiveness I do not mean that barren exertion which contents itself with saying, “I forgive,” and then

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sits down contented as having discharged its duty
Nor did Jesus Christ mean this you must bring forth
fruits meet for repentance you must treat me as a
son and by the common institutions of society your
superfluities ought to go towards my support I have
no right not to expect it

What I have said here which appears severe applies
to nothing but your unforgivingness No son can be
so dutiful so respectful as me and the above remarks
are merely urged as what would be my opinion in case
you act differently from that mild character which
you have hitherto supported

Adeu Love to Mother Sisters &c —I remain Your
aff dut P B SHELLEY

Will you be so kind as to send me this quarter's due
to Edinburgh post office, immediately, £50

[Addressed]

For TIMOTHY SHELLEY Esq

Field Place

Horsham Sussex

M P

It had now become necessary for Hogg to return to
York He spoke of having been absent for six weeks
which would have meant the end of October but it was
in the first week of that month that he left Edinburgh
Bysshe and Harriet decided to go with him and remain
in York during the year that he was to pass in that
city and when he was free they were all to remove
to London He and his friend Hogg already considered
their property as common "

Shelley in England

Edinburgh had already grown distasteful to Bysshe. He disliked the grime of the city as much as he scorned the commercialism of its citizens, and he was anxious to get away from the place. It would not, however, have been possible to accompany Hogg on his journey south, but for the timely help of Captain Pilfold. "My uncle is a most generous fellow," he wrote to Miss Hitchener,¹ "had he not assisted us, we should have been chained to the filth and commerce of Edinburgh. Vile as aristocracy is, commerce—proud, ignorant and illiterate—is more contemptible."

Notwithstanding that Shelley's resources were much reduced, and Hogg's could not have been much better, they decided for the comfort of Harriet to perform the journey to York by post-chaise. They passed the first night at Belford, and the second at Darlington, and on the third day they reached York. Bysshe chafed at the narrow confinement of the chaise and the bother of changing horses every post, "and at Berwick, when Harriet had taken her seat and all was ready he was missing." He was captured, however, by Hogg, who found him "standing on the walls in a drizzling rain, gazing mournfully on the wild dreary sea, with looks not less wild and dreary." Harriet's occupation in the chaise was to read aloud incessantly one of

¹ Shelley to Miss Hitchener, from York, October 10, 1811.

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Holcroft's novels Bysshe who found it tedious sometimes sighed deeply and inquired ' Is it necessary to read all that, Harriet dear ? ' " but she was inexorable, and declined to skip

The narrow crooked old streets of York as seen at the close of a dull autumnal day, did not as Hogg tells us impress Bysshe favourably, and the dingy lodgings in Coney Street which they found at the house of two needy mantua makers, completed his dismal first impression of the city

Apparently as soon as they arrived Bysshe deemed the opportunity a favourable one to inform his father of his change of address It was natural that he should show some resentment at the parental silence, especially in his not heeding Bysshe's request that his clothes and other things might be sent to him The letter as in the case of his last from Edinburgh was addressed by Hogg, a fact which is attested by Mr Shelley
Hogg's direction Received Oct 6

P B Shelley to Timothy Shelley

MISS DANCER'S CONEY STREET YORK
Thursday even [Postmark Oct 5 1811]

MY DEAR FATHER—Having changed my residence I beg leave to inform you of it, I have not heard from you in answer to my last I do not at present endeavor to account for it You may suppose that I am in want of the clothes which I left at Field Place,

Shelley in England

may I beg you to send them, as also the books and papers, which can be of little use to any other. Even supposing that you are offended, do not permit me to suppose you so meanly revengeful as to inflict the pitiful inconvenience of detaining these things. I expected long before this to have heard from you. Your silence has occasioned considerable derangement of my plans. I have not long arrived at York, but take the earliest opportunity of informing you of it. This will afford excuse for my brevity. Love to Mother, Sisters, &c — Your aff. dut. Son,

P B SHELLEY.

[Addressed in Hogg's handwriting]

For TIMOTHY SHELLEY, Esq.,

Field Place,

Horsham, Sussex

M P.,

Mr Shelley received other tidings of Bysshe's arrival at York, for Mr Hogg wrote on Oct 8 to tell him of his son's return after the sojourn in Edinburgh with Bysshe. Young Hogg accounted for his prolonged absence by his receiving no remittances from England, but how at last he obtained the money necessary for his travelling expenses Mr Hogg was not able to explain, as neither he nor his friends had supplied him with any. He was not aware that the young people had spared themselves no expense, and had performed the journey in comfort by post-chaise in easy stages. "My son," he said, "makes no mention of a female being of their party. Whether your son

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is now at York or in its vicinity I have not yet heard, though I have made inquiry—perhaps you have heard of the place of his abode. My son has the impudence to write for money, which I have at present denied, for his behaviour in this last business has been such that I shall only allow him what will be necessary to keep him at York in the strictest manner. Oh my dear Sir! we have been truly unfortunate in our Sons. May our children who are now dutiful by the Grace of God continue so and be a comfort to us! ”

Bysshe now wrote to Miss Hitchener¹ to tell her of his marriage. He guessed that the news would have reached her from the local gossips, but he felt that he owed her an explanation that he, a professed atheist, should choose to subject himself to the ceremony of marriage. He admitted that it was useless to attempt by singular examples to renovate the face of society, until reasoning has made so comprehensive a change as to emancipate the experimentalist from the resulting evils and the prejudice with which his opinion (which ought to have weight for the sake of virtue) would be heard by the immense majority. ” Would his marriage of which he had not given Miss Hitchener a hint in his letters put an end to his correspondence with her? He enjoyed writing to her

Shelley in England

as she was probably the one correspondent to whom he could unburden his soul without restraint “Will you write to me?” he asked “Shall we proceed in our discussion of Nature and morality? Nay, more—will you be my friend, may I be yours? The shadow of worldly impropriety is effaced by *my* situation, our strictest intercourse would excite none of those disgusting remarks with which *females* of the present day think right to load the friendships of the opposite sexes Nothing would be transgressed by your even living with us Could you not pay us a visit? My dear friend Hogg, that noble being, is with me, and will be always, but my wife will abstract from our intercourse the shadow of impropriety”

Miss Hitchener did not accept the invitation, but she consented to pursue the correspondence Bysshe wrote again at once, addressing her as “My dearest friend (for I will call you so), *you* who understand my motives to action which I flatter myself unisonise with your own” He told her that he intended to be at Cuckfield on Friday night, and added, “That mistaken man, my father, has refused us money, and commanded that our names should never be mentioned Sophisticated by falsehood as society is I had thought that this blind resentment had long been banished to the regions of dulness, comedies, and

The Elopement, and After

farces, or was used merely to augment the difficulties and consequently the attachment of the hero and heroine of a modern novel I have written frequently to this thoughtless man and am now determined to visit him in order to try the force of truth tho' I must confess I consider it nearly as hyperbolical as music rending the knotted oak."

Bysshe's belongings were at length sent off from Field Place perhaps his mother had heard from Mr Shelley that he was in want of his clothes, and she arranged for them to be despatched But neither she nor Mr Shelley sent him a word to say that his request had been complied with this office was left for the waggoner to perform It is characteristic of Bysshe that these letters to his father are singularly wanting in tact and that they become less and less tactful He made the mistake of judging Mr Shelley by his correspondence and his actions which were often very foolish But he could only recognise his own point of view otherwise he would have remembered his father's high opinion of his own dignity, and his obstinacy Bysshe undoubtedly wished to be forgiven but he could hardly have chosen a more unfortunate way of addressing his father than by criticising his actions

Shelley in England

P. B. Shelley to Timothy Shelley

[*Postmark* YORK, Oct 12, 1811]

DEAR FATHER,—The waggoner has written to inform me that my property is sent but does it not look as if your resentment was not to be supported by reason that you have declined to write yourself?

I cannot avoid thinking thus, nor expressing my opinion, but silence, especially on so important a subject as I urged, looks as if you confessed the erroneousness of your proceedings, at the same time that your passions impel you to persist in them. I do not say this is illiberal, a person who can once persuade himself as you have done that every opinion adopted by the majority is correct, must be nearly indifferent to this charge, I do not say it is immoral, as illiberality involves a portion of immorality, but it is emphatically hostile to your own interest, to the opinion which the world will form of your virtues. *If* you are a professor of Christianity, which I am not, I need not recal to your recollection “Judge not lest thou shouldst be judged”

I confess I write this more to discharge a duty of telling you what I think, than hoping that my representations will be effectual. We have taken widely different views of the subject in question. *Obedience* is in my opinion a word which should have no existence you regard it as necessary

Yes, you can command it. The institutions of society have made you, tho’ liable to be misled by passion and prejudice like others, the *Head of a family*, and I confess it is almost natural for minds not of the highest order to value even the errors whence they derive thier importance

The Elopement, and After

Adeau answer this—I would be your aff dut
Son PERCY B SHELLEY

In his father's handwriting at foot

Recd the 15th Oct 1811

[Addressed]

T SHELLEY Esq M P

Field Place

Horsham Sussex

[Postmark York Oct 12 1811]

Shelley's departure from York was delayed for some days but before he left for Sussex he decided to appeal to his grandfather, to whom he had never before written For that reason he hoped that the old baronet might induce his father to forgive him Sir Bysshe who had eloped with his first bride might have shown some sympathy for his grandson But Bysshe was mistaken in thinking that his grandfather with all his wealth would be willing to spare him something He was evidently unaware that the old gentleman had already been consulted by Mr Shelley with regard to the sequel to the Oxford misfortune and had advised a course that amounted to starving the culprit into submission

P B Shelley to Sir Bysshe Shelley

MISS DANCERS

CONEY STREET YORK

Oct 13 1811

SIR—Excuse me if never having addressed you before I appeal in time of misfortune to your bene

Shelley in England

volence I have forfeited I think unjustly my father's esteem, for having consulted my own taste in marriage If there is a question important to happiness it is this, certainly *he* whom the question most nearly concerns has the best right to decide upon its merits Obedience in this case is misplaced, inasmuch as morality can be nothing but a means of high happiness, and whenever an advanced opinion on it militates with this essential principle, reason justly questions its correctness I am accustomed to speak my opinion unreservedly, this has occasioned me some misfortunes, but I do not therefore cease to speak as I think Language is given us to express ideas he who fetters it is a BIGOT and a TYRANT, from these have my misfortunes arisen

I expect from your liberality and justice no unfavorable construction of what fools in power would denominate *insolence*

This is not the spirit in which I write I write in the spirit of truth and candor If you will send me some money to help me and my wife (and I know you are not ungenerous) I will add to my respect for a grandfather my love for a preserver

Adeu [*sic*] —Most respectfully yours,

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

[Addressed]

SIR BYSSHE SHELLEY, Bart ,
Horsham,
Sussex

Three days after Bysshe left York he arrived at his uncle's house at Cuckfield He performed the journey on the outside of the coach, and, as he told Miss

The Elopement, and After

Hitchener¹ he did not sleep because his mind was so full of projects for "accumulating money" not for selfish motives as he explained, but for the leisure that it would give for its employment in the forwarding of truth. He also probably found plenty of time to think of ways and means for approaching his father.

Mr Shelley's letter of September 8 to Mr Hogg had naturally given him cause for alarm when he read that Bysshe had gone off to Edinburgh in the company of "a young female" and that young Hogg had joined him. But Mr Shelley had foolishly added in another letter that he would not be surprised if Bysshe left the young woman on young Hogg's hands. Mr Hogg evidently wrote to warn his son of the danger that he ran in associating with Bysshe who soon heard from his friend in the matter. The fact that Bysshe had left Harriet in the care of Hogg during his temporary absence from York added some point to Mr Shelley's base suggestion, and had other unhappy results. He had blundered badly and as it seemed to Bysshe, from his next letter it was the last of many spiteful acts of persecution.

We will now however for the sake of continuity,

Shelley to Elizabeth Hitchener October 10 and October 12 (?) 1811. The latter letter was undated and it is now obvious in the light of this new correspondence that it was written some days subsequent to the conjectured date of October 12.

Shelley in England

give Mr John Hogg's letter, which was written three days after Bysshe's passionate remonstrance

John Hogg to Timothy Shelley

NORTON HOUSE, Oct 21, 1811

DEAR SIR,—I return you my most grateful thanks for your very kind letter of to-day, and I think it proper to inform you that I received a letter from York, stating that your son left that place (it is supposed for London) about the 18th, leaving his lady to the protection of my son, saying he should return in about a week or ten days Mrs Hogg and I were greatly alarmed at this information, thinking it highly improper that they should be left together, and remembering what you said in a former letter, that you should not be surprised at your son's leaving his lady on my son's hands

Mrs Hogg thought it proper to write to her, telling her how very imprudent it was for her to be left with our son, and also informing her that he had no money to support her in Mr Shelley's absence, that she hoped she would by no means continue with him, and pitying her situation, offer'd to write to her friends To this she wrote a very civil answer, much in the stile of a Gentlewoman, thanking Mrs H for her kindness, but declining her service for the present I am sorry to say I had a letter from your son about a week since declaring that it was his firm resolution never to part from my son—and my son declares he will not give up your son's friendship on any account How this business is to end God only knows I really know not how to act I find they are in debt at York

I did all I could to get them once separated, and was

The Elopement, and After

happy in succeeding and was at much expense in placing my son at York with a Barrister for a year hoping that absence would dissolve our son's unfortunate friendship before I entered him of Lincoln's Inn I have been disappointed and all my hopes are banished!!! Oh my dear Sir! I am almost heart-broken and so is my wife! We flattered ourselves that one day we should have seen him an ornament to his profession and no expense from my moderate fortune should have been spared to have made him so—he was well and religiously brought up I can assure you every person here and in the neighbourhood loved and esteemed him! I can add no more! I shall say with the Psalmist It is good for me that I have been in trouble that I may learn thy Statutes!

Mrs Hogg begs to unite with me in wishing every consolation to you and yours—I am dear Sir your obliged humble st

JOHN HOGG

[Addressed]

T SHELLEY Esq M P

Field Place

Near Horsham

Sussex

P B Shelley to Timothy Shelley

[Endorsed by Mr Shelley Received Oct 18 1811]

DEAR FATHER—I understand you have written to Mr Hogg of Stockton I know not what your letter contained but by some ill effects resulting from it I discover that you have said something which has greatly prejudiced the relations of my friend against me

This is a cowardly base contemptible expedient

Shelley in England

of persecution is it not enough that you have deprived me of the means of subsistence (which means, recollect, you *unequivocally* promised), but that you must take advantage of the defencelessness which *our* relation entails upon me, to *libel* me Have you forgotten what a libel is ? or is memory so *very treacherous* that it does not tell you the danger you stood in from your misrepresentations of Stockdale the bookseller the mere laws of your country then defend others against your injuries, to these I cannot have recourse You have treated me *ill, vilely* When I was expelled for Atheism you wished I had been killed in Spain The desire of its consummation is very like the crime, perhaps it is well for me that the laws of England punish murder, and that *cowardice* shrinks from thier animadversion'

I shall take the first opportunity of seeing you, if *you* will not hear my name *I* will pronounce it Think not I am an insect whom injuries destroy had I money enough I would meet you in London and hollow in your ears Bysshe, Bysshe, Bysshe aye, Bysshe till you're deaf

[Addressed]

T SHELLEY, Esq, M P,
Field Place,
Horsham, Sussex

Bysshe was as good as his word, and called on his father on Sunday, October 20, and learnt that it was only possible to discuss the question of his allowance through Mr Whitton, to whom he therefore wrote for an appointment

The Elopement, and After

But in the meantime on Monday, Oct 21, the day after Bysshe called at Field Place Mr Shelley wrote the following note to Captain Pilford

FIELD PLACE Oct 21 1811

Mr Shelley understands his son is with Captain Pilfold Mr S begs to apprise Captain P that his son's irrational notions and the absence of all sentiment of Duty and affection and the unusual spirit of Resistance to any controul has determined Mr S not to admit him but to place everything respecting him into the hands of Mr Whitton that no other person may interfere

[Addressed]

TO CAPTAIN PILFOLD R N -
Cuckfield

P B Shelley to W Whitton

CAPT PILFORD S R N
CUCKFIELD SUSSEX
October 20 1811

SIR—Understanding that pecuniary matters which concern me are entrusted to you I beg to know *by return of post* where I can see you in Town I intend to bring a friend with me—Sir yours' hum servt

P B SHELLEY

[Addressed]

WHITTON Esq
Grove House
Camberwell Surrey

[Postmark Oct 21 1811]

While Bysshe was in Sussex he went to see Sir Bysshe it would be interesting to have details of the

Shelley in England

conversation between the boy and his old grandfather, but such can only be supplied by the imagination Mr Shelley, however, in writing to Whitton on October 23 briefly referred to the visit

“The youngster call'd on him and behav'd very well He told him to be dutyful and obedient and he would be receiv'd when he properly conducted himself, thank'd him for his advice and went away ”

Although Bysshe was now an outcast from his father's house, and not worth sixpence, as Whitton had bluntly put it, he concluded that, in order to “obviate future difficulties,” he should make marriage settlements Accordingly, 'before he left Cuckfield, he wrote to ask Mr Medwin, senior, to undertake this business for him He had evidently seen the Horsham lawyer a day or so before, and sought his advice in regard to the negotiations with his father As a precaution he intended to be re-married He said, “I wish the sum settled on my wife in case of my death to be £700 per annum The maiden name is Harriett Westbrook with two T's You will be so good as to address me at Mr Westbrook's, 23 Chapel Street, Grosvenor Square We most probably go to London to-morrow We shall see Whitton, when I shall neither forget your advice nor cease to be grateful for it” Captain Pilfold had consented to accompany Bysshe to town, and he may have intended

The Elopement, and After

while he was there to make an attempt at conciliating his father in law

Whitton however declined Shelley's request to see him and he gave his reason in a letter to Sir Bysshe bearing the date of October 22 he said The tenour and manner of his letter bespeaks his consequence so I have desired him not to take the trouble of the journey from Captain Pilfold's Cuckfield, but to communicate his sentiments in writing¹

So Bysshe at once complied with the lawyer's request and addressed to him the following brief note

P B Shelley to William Whitton

TURK'S COFFEE HOUSE

Tuesday evening

[October 22 1811]

Mr P B Shelley being referred to Mr Whitton on application for an allowance of £200 per an promised by his father begs to know in what manner its arrangement is made Mr P B S being in haste to quit Town for a remote part of the Kingdom begs the favour of an immediate answer¹

Whitton replied on the following day and told him that his father's communications had been of a very painful nature resulting from Bysshe's correspondence and the manner in which he had treated him Mr

¹ Shelley wrote to Miss Hitchener when he returned to York We did not call on Whitton as we passed We find he means absolutely nothing he talks of disrespect duty &c

Shelley in England

Shelley was determined to stop supplies until he could be satisfied that Bysshe's "future conduct will be directed by a judgment consonant to his duty to him as a parent" It remained for him to consider the serious question of his father's injured feelings, and to seek a restoration of his confidence

While Bysshe was at York, he seems to have formed the impression, whether rightly or wrongly, that his mother was contriving a match between his sister Elizabeth and Edward Fergus Graham How he got this impression it is impossible to say, unless Captain Pilfold had repeated in a letter to his nephew some idle local gossip Bysshe told his mother, perhaps when he was at Field Place on Sunday, October 20, that he did not come from York on his own business, but to inform her of this rumour He may also have had some conversation with Elizabeth on the subject, that confirmed him in his impression

Young Graham's father, who had been in the army, was employed in some capacity by Mr Shelley, and acted as his factotum Hogg remembered old Mr Graham making tea, when he and Bysshe dined with Mr Shelley at his hotel during their stay at Poland Street Edward Graham had been brought up in Mr Shelley's house, and he and Bysshe, according to the statement of one who knew them both, were like brothers When Graham, later, gave proofs of a talent



ELIZABETH LADY SHELLEY

*After the picture by George Romney, R.A.
in the possession of Sir John Shelley Bart*

The Elopement, and After

for music, Mr Shelley bore the expenses of his training, and he went to London to become a pupil of Joseph Woelff a well known German musician of the day Bysshe wrote songs to be set to music by Graham who made himself useful to his patron's son when he was in town during his Eton and Oxford days 'Direct me to Graham's' is a frequent request in Shelley's earlier letters which likewise contained numerous commissions for his friend Bysshe could not resist the opportunity of referring in the following request, to his father's note to Captain Pilfold, which, as Mr Shelley subsequently observed remained unanswered

P B Shelley to Timothy Shelley

CUCKFIELD Oct 22 1811

DR. SIR—I would thank you to deliver the enclosed to my mother, very much obliged for this morn's intimation to my uncle—Yours &c

P B SHELLEY

[Addressed]

T SHELLEY Esq M P

Field Place

Horsham Sussex

P B Shelley to Mrs Timothy Shelley

CAPT PILFOLD S

[Undated Oct 22 1811]

DEAR MOTHER—I had expected before this to have heard from you on a subject so important as that of

Shelley in England

my late communication I now expect to hear from you, unless you desire the publicity of my sister's intended marriage with Graham You tell me that you care not for the opinion of the world, this contempt for its consideration is noble if accompanied by consciousness of rectitude, if the contrary, it is the last resort of unviold misconduct, is the daringness of despair, not the calmness of fortitude You ask me if *I* suspect you I do, my suspicions of your motives are strong, and such as I insist upon should be either confirmed or refuted

I suspect your motives for *so violently*, *so persecut-
ingly* desiring to unite my sister Elizabeth to the music master Graham I suspect that it was intended to shield *yourself* from that suspicion which at length has fallen on you If it is unjust, prove it I give you a fair opportunity—it depends on yourself to avail yourself of it Write to me [at Mr Westbrook's, 23 Chapel Street, Grosvenor Square]¹—Your son,
P B SHELLEY

You had better acquaint my Father with the debt with Mrs Bowley, *he* is the proper person to do away with the obligation

[Addressed]

MRS SHELLEY

P B. Shelley to Elizabeth Shelley

CUCKFIELD, Oct 22, 1811.

I write to inform you that my mother has recieved a letter from me, on the subject of Graham's projected

¹ The words within square brackets have been struck out

The Elopement, and After

union with you My mother may shew the letter to
my father in this case do you speak truth—
Your brother PERCY SHELLEY

[Addressed]

MISS SHELLEY

Field Place Horsham

Nothing came of this affair but Shelley appears to have been convinced that something was wrong. He seems to have talked the matter over with Miss Hitchener at Captain Pilfold's for he wrote to her after his return to York¹ the following obscure remarks

I observed that you were much shocked at my mother's depravity. I have heard some reasons (and as mere reasons they are satisfactory) that there is no such thing as moral depravity. But it does not prove the non-existence of a thing that is not discoverable by reason. *feeling* here affords us sufficient proofs'.²

Neither Mrs Shelley nor her daughter saw Bysshe's letters because Mr Shelley sent them on to Whitton unopened. It was due to the lawyer that the matter rested where it was for he certainly displayed discretion in dealing with the letters. He did not return them to Mr Shelley but merely told him that they

¹ October 26 1811

* Miss Elizabeth Shelley died unmarried in 1832. Graham who made no public mark as a musician survived probably till the early fifties. Mr W M Rossetti who remembered meeting him in his boyhood contributed some interesting reminiscences of this early friend of Shelley to the present writer's edition of *Shelley's Letters*.

Shelley in England

contained "matter of reflection on Mrs Shelley and admonition to Miss Shelley too trifling and absurd to be repeated" He then informed Bysshe that he had received the letters, unopened, for his perusal, and asked for leave to destroy them This was not only well-meant advice, but Whitton's way of letting Bysshe know that no one save himself had read the letters

The Duke of Norfolk, who had no doubt heard of Bysshe's marriage, had not forgotten his talks with him earlier in the year on the profession of politics Mr Shelley dined with the Duke at the Bailiff's feast on Oct 22 No doubt he was glad of the opportunity of talking about his son to the Duke, who "asked very civilly about this unpleasant business" Mr Shelley said that the matter was entirely in Whitton's hands, whereupon the Duke asked for his address in order to talk with him on the subject Writing to Mr Shelley on Oct 24, Whitton said, "His Grace of Norfolk has just called" The subject of his conversation is given in Whitton's next letter to Bysshe

W Whitton to P B Shelley

10 GREAT JAMES ST,
Oct 24, 1811

SIR,—From the tendency and stile of your late communications to your father, he has resolved not again to open a letter from you, and I mention this to save the time which the passage to and from Horsham will occasion of any communication or letter you may

The Elopement, and After

make or send If therefore you shall think proper to address your father and will send the paper to me I will forward it to him as I trust it will be conceived in terms that will justify my so doing Your letter to your mother which I opened and read this morning is not proper and I beg you will allow me to destroy it as also that to your sister You forget what is due from you, when you commit such harsh and unfeeling sentiments to writing

His Grace the Duke of Norfolk out of respect to your family called on me just now to learn your address at York and I told his Grace you were in Town He said he left Town to morrow for 8 or 9 days or that he would endeavour to see you His Grace will not leave town until to morrow 12 and perhaps you will take the opportunity of waiting on him in Saint James Square before that hour—I am Sir yours &c

WM WHITTON

[Addressed]

P B SHELLEY Esq
Turk's Head Coffee House
Strand

Bysshe left London for York immediately after this letter reached the Turk's Head as it was forwarded to him with the address added Mr Stricklands Blake Street York He read the letter with indignation and wrote across the outside page which bears Whitton's addressing the following angry note

P B Shelley to W Whitton

'William Whitton's letter is conceived in terms which justify Mr P Shelley's returning it for his cool

Shelley in England

reperusal Mr S commends Mr W when he deals with gentlemen (which opportunity perhaps may not often occur) to refrain from opening private letters, or impudence may draw down chastisement upon contemptibility

“York,” &c

Bysshe then despatched the letter with this redirection

“MR W WHITTON,
10 Gt James Street,
Bedford Row, London ”

The postmark is dated Nov 1, 1811

Referring to this matter, as a topic of local interest, in a letter ¹ to his kinsman, the elder Medwin, who lived at Horsham, Bysshe said. “Whitton has written to me to state the impropriety of my letters to my mother and sisters, this letter I have returned with a passing remark on the back of it I find that affair on which those letters spoke is become the general gossip of the idle newsmongers of Horsham They give *me* the credit of having invented it They do my imagination much honour, but greatly discredit their own penetration ”

Whitton also commented on Shelley's note, in writing to Sir Bysshe on November 2, the day following its receipt “I have had from P B Shelley the most scurrilous letter that a mad viper could dictate ”

¹ November 26, 1811

The Elopement, and After

The amenities of correspondence being in abeyance the writers of these letters were not sparing in invective In his letters to Whitton Mr Shelley s language was unrestrained and he showed himself to be thoroughly frightened Writing on October 25 he informed Whitton that he had advised Mr Hogg senior to delegate the business of dealing with his son to some experienced gentleman as he had done in the case of Bysshe

From the present perturbed state of P B s mind which will not suffer it to rest until it has completely and entirely disordered his whole spiritual past I will not open a letter from him and be cautious how I open any in other handwriting for fear he should endeavour to deceive

I shall most decidedly keep my resolution with him and had he stay d in Sussex I would have sworn in Especial Constables around me He frightened his mother and sister exceedingly and now if they hear a Dog Bark they run up stairs He has nothing to say but the £200 a year

‘ He has withdrawn himself from me and my Protection He forgets his own promise that he was not to be Idle but place himself in some Gentlemanly situation long before this He always varied and now for the first time he is placed in a situation that he must be humbl d for I never before oppos d or closely pursued him

‘ The Duke of Norfolk is most kind towards me upon all occasions But this young man must manifest

Shelley in England

to the world his abhorrence of such monstrous opinions as he has sent forth, and also demonstrate by Acts of respect, Duty, and contrite Heart, before I can receive him upon his knees No doubt his letters were of the most mischievous kind He would not regard any language against his mother or sister He accuses me of Libel and the thought of everything that could be bad, nor would he stick at any infamous language in his writing

“ Pray, my dear Sir, don't spare him in his absurdities, for I shall submit to your judgment, and I hope assisted by His Grace the Duke of Norfolk's Influence on P B's mind

“ *N B* —I can only guess at the seven deadly sins He is capable of any mischief, particularly in the Family He has no regard to character himself Father, Mother, Sisters and Brother all alike ”

On October 27 Mr Shelley again wrote to Whitton

“ The Duke of Norfolk felt much and wished something might be settled, but His Grace, said Mr S , you cannot do it I told His Grace that I had left it to you, and depended on you in every respect P B forgets that I consider you an experienc'd Friend, and lucky for him to have the advice of such a Gentleman I only wish it had to operate on an Ingenuous Heart and a Sound understanding, but he is such a Pupil of Godwin that I can scarcely hope he will be persuaded that he owes any sort of obedience or compliance to the wishes or directions of his Parents

The Elopement, and After

He will contest every point for youth is not the Season for admissions

Had Captn Pilfold informed me when P B came to him or advis d him differently and not taken him into his House in his Disobedience, I should have been better satisfied I hear he was in London with him P B told his mother that he did not come from York on his own business but to inform her what was said of her Too absurd and ridiculous for a thought I wish he may continue 100 miles off and not come near me and I wish he may not work his disorder d mind up to such a Pitch as to do mischief to himself or some others

I have been led on to write more than I had intended for I am best satisfied when out of sight and out of mind I will not trouble you unnecessarily because I know you will manage best We are all well but often in sad frights with the Ladies' fancies

CHAPTER XIII

MARRIED LIFE

Bysshe's return to York—Hogg's treachery—The arrival of Eliza Westbrook—Bysshe moves to Keswick—Correspondence with Hogg—Miss Hitchener the consoler—Robert Southey—Bysshe and his landlord—The Duke of Norfolk—A visit to Greystoke—Correspondence with Mr Shelley—Mr Westbrook's allowance—Hellen Shelley—William Godwin—The Irish expedition—The Shelleys at Nantgwilt—Scandal at Cuckfield—Bysshe and his grandfather—*Letter to Lord Ellenborough*—Lynmouth—Miss Hitchener—Tanyrallt—Shelley arrested

BYSSHE returned to York by October 26, for on that date he wrote to Mr Shelley, who had told him to discuss any questions respecting his allowance with Whitton. The lawyer's cautious method of doing business and his letters of remonstrance had so greatly irritated Bysshe that he was prompted to protest to his father at the manner in which he was being treated. Bysshe had been requested by Whitton to address to his care any letters that he might write to Mr Shelley, and not to send them direct. But he ignored this request, and wrote to Field Place, while Hogg addressed and sealed the letter with his coat of arms—displaying three boars' heads couped, with an oak tree on a wreath as a crest.

Married Life

Mr Shelley was not deceived by the direction and sent the letter to Whitton on October 29

The enclosed is from York he said— Hogg's direction and seal He then as usual commented on Bysshe's behaviour especially in not availing himself of Whitton's good intentions and remarked that when he can submit to filial duty and obedience to his Parents and gentlemanly conduct and behaviour towards you who so kindly undertake this *Unique* [? business] on my account He will then experience Parental fondness on our parts and a suitable return on yours Mr Shelley was relieved that Bysshe had left London and he had no wish to see him for he said York for ever! I hope he will remain there untill a thorough amendment takes place He concluded with the following unexpected reference to Sir Bysshe's geniality My father was extremely pleasant at the signing the Codicils Mr Stedman [a Horsham solicitor] told him any pen would do Oh! ho! and with great gravity produced Mrs Clarke's leg that is sold in Ivory as a Toy at Worthing

P B Shelley to Timothy Shelley -

[Postmark YORK
Oct 26 1811]

SIR—When I last saw you I was referred by you to Mr Whitton for the payment of the quarterly

Shelley in England

allowance on which I was desired by you to rely Mr W's answer to my note was in the most vague stile of complaint concerning the letters which I had written to you I do not see how personal feelings, even if unjustly wounded, can be an excuse to a man's own conscience for the violation of an unequivocal promise But have they been *unjustly* wounded? Are the remarks to which I conjecture Mr W's letters to allude *true* or *false* Did you, or did you not falsely speak of my friend to Mr J Hogg, and as falsely assert that Stockdale the bookseller was the author of these misrepresentations?

Did Graham, the music-master, or did he not ward off a threatned action for *libel*? Have you or have you not written to Mr Hogg of Stockton letters calculated, and intended to lower my character in their opinion, opposing as in contrast your own excellencies? I am compelled to recur to these things in consequence of your Attorney's letter, and your unjust anger—I am, yours, &c ,

P B SHELLEY

[Addressed]

TIMOTHY SHELLEY, Esq ,

Field Place,

Horsham,

M P

Sussex

Mr Whitton, however, on reading this letter regarded it as an "improper writing for Mr Shelley's perusal", he told Bysshe so in a note, and for that reason he did not intend to forward it The lawyer remonstrated with Bysshe for his "sentiments of anger" in his endeavour to serve him, and said that

Married Life

the boyish warmth of Mr P B Shelley is inexcusable and we will consider that the flippancy and impertinent observations made by Mr P B Shelley are attributable to an irritable and uninformed mind. Mr Whitton like many others experienced a difficulty in maintaining his dignity in a third person letter he wrote in anger and he probably meant to describe Bysshe's mind as uninformed.

On Bysshe's arrival at York he found that Harriet was not alone but that her sister Eliza Westbrook was keeping her company. The reasons given for her appearance were such as to cause him great distress for they were none other than the result of treachery on the part of his friend Hogg. It appears that when he was at Edinburgh attracted by Harriet's gushing charms Hogg had fallen deeply in love with her. He did not however declare his passion until they went to York when Harriet forbade him to mention the subject again and hoping she might hear no more of it she forbore to tell her husband. Then Bysshe went to Sussex and left Harriet in the care of his friend who not only again avowed his love but pestered her 'with arguments of detestable sophistry. Poor Harriet withstood these entreaties and when Hogg now contrite wanted to write to Bysshe and tell him the whole story she refused to allow him as she feared the consequences of the revelation on her

Shelley in England

husband's mind at such a distance Harriet, however, took immediate steps to protect herself from any further annoyance from Hogg, and sent for her sister Eliza, who probably arrived at York shortly before Bysshe

In his letters to Miss Hitchener Bysshe relates these incidents, and describes his interview with Hogg after learning the truth from Harriet Bysshe said that he sought Hogg, and they walked to the fields beyond York He desired to know fully the account of this affair "I heard it from him," he said, "and I believe he was sincere" "Our conversation was long He was silent, pale, overwhelmed, the suddenness of the disclosure, and, oh! I hope its heinousness, had affected him I told him that I pardoned him—freely, fully, completely pardoned, that not the least anger against him possessed me His vices and not himself were the objects of my horror and my hatred I told him I yet ardently panted for his *real* welfare, but that ill-success in crime and misery appeared to me an earnest of its opposite in benevolence"

Hogg pleaded for forgiveness, and Bysshe, with singular generosity, pardoned him He also begged for Harriet's forgiveness, and declared that if he did not obtain it he would blow his brains out at her feet Bysshe really believed in the sincerity of the penitent,

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but he realised that he and Harriet could not possibly continue to live in the same house with him. Bysshe therefore decided to leave York immediately. He was very miserable and so long as he got away from that town he was indifferent where he went. Harriet and her sister knew and liked Keswick which perhaps had some attraction for Bysshe as Southey was living hard by at Greta Hall. So to Keswick they decided to go—Bysshe, Harriet and Eliza. They made their preparations swiftly and although Hogg was aware they were leaving they departed without taking farewell of him. Wending their way across Yorkshire they halted at Richmond and then continued on their course to Keswick where they arrived in the first week of November.

Bysshe wrote many letters from Keswick to Hogg who printed some of them in his *Life of Shelley* but apparently in a much altered form so as to disguise any references to the painful episode with which they were principally concerned. In reading between the lines of these letters with the assistance of Bysshe's correspondence with Miss Hitchener one gathers that Hogg began by expressing full contrition for his conduct. Bysshe who at first believed that he was really penitent told Hogg how deep his affection had been for him and how he had once fondly hoped they would never be separated. As time went on

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the tone of Hogg's letters deteriorated, and he now expressed a desire that he might live again with Harriet and Bysshe, who firmly put this suggestion aside, having detected in his sophistry "deep cunning."

When this device failed, Hogg taunted Bysshe with his "*consistency* in despising religion, despising duelling, and despising real friendship," with some hints as to duelling to induce him to fight it out in this manner. Bysshe replied that he would not fight a duel with him, that he had no right to expose his own life or take Hogg's. He confessed he wished, from various motives, to prolong his existence, nor did he think that Hogg's life was a fair exchange for his, as he had always acted up to his principles, which was not the case with Hogg.

Miss Hitchener proved to Bysshe a consolation, and his correspondence with her supplied him with an outlet for his pent-up feelings. "Your letters," he said, "are like angels sent from heaven on missions of peace." He spoke of her as the sister of his soul (as Hogg had once been his spiritual brother), and begged her to visit them. When Miss Hitchener demurred, he wrote, "Harriet has laughed at your suppositions. She invites you to our habitation wherever we are, she does this sincerely, and bids me to send her love to you. Eliza, her sister, is with us. She is, I think, a woman rather superior to the

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generality She is prejudiced but her prejudices I do not consider unvanquishable Indeed I have already conquered some of them

Hogg had conceived a dislike for Eliza Westbrook which was natural considering the reason for her appearance at York and she probably reciprocated the dislike He did what he could to tarnish the glory with which Harriet invested her sister We are told by this amusing chronicler that Eliza was old enough¹ to be the mother of Harriet who some times addressed her as Mamma and that she was as dignified as satin or silk could make her Harriet had described her as exquisitely beautiful and perhaps thought her so for Eliza had cared for and tended her from childhood Hogg was therefore bitterly disappointed to find that Eliza's face was much marked with the scars of smallpox and deadly white not unlike a mass of boiled rice boiled in dirty water the eyes dark but dull and without meaning the hair black and glossy but coarse and there was an admired crop much like the tail of a horse—a switch tail The fine figure was meagre prim and constrained

Eliza was fond of managing and soon fell into the

The register of baptisms of St George's Hanover Square reveals that Eliza Westbrook was born on June 4 1778 consequently she was thirteen years older than Harriet who was born on August 1 1795 The Westbrooks had two other children Robert born September 5 1784 and Mary Ann born April 31 1781

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habit of looking after Harriet and her husband. She also looked after their resources, and kept the money in the corner of an old stocking. Harriet was happy, and Bysshe was tolerant of his sister-in-law, with her prim ways and everlasting admonitions, whose favourite remark, when Harriet did anything out of the ordinary, was, "Gracious Heaven! What would Miss Warne say?" Even the omniscient Hogg has failed to enlighten us about Eliza's friend, whose opinions she speculated upon with so much curiosity.

During their first days at the lakes they found lodgings at Townhead, Keswick, but by November 12 they had moved outside the town to Chestnut Cottage. Shelley described the scenery as "awfully beautiful. Our window commands a view of two lakes, and the giant mountains which confine them. But the object most interesting to my feelings is Southey's habitation. He is now on a journey, when he returns, I shall call on him." ¹ Bysshe looked forward to meeting the author of *Kehama* with his accustomed enthusiasm, and he tells Miss Hitchener in another letter that he had been contemplating the outside of Greta Hall. When, however, in the course of time he found himself face to face with Southey he was obliged to admit disappointment. The older man was middle-aged, with settled opinions, and given to

¹ Shelley to Miss Hitchener, November 14, 1811

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offering counsel I am not sure he wrote to Miss Hitchener¹ that Southey is *quite* uninfluenced by venality He is disinterested so far as respects his family but I question if he is so as far as respects the world His writings solely support a numerous family His sweet children are such amiable creatures that I almost forgive what I suspect Bysshe found Mrs Southey very stupid but he enjoyed her home made tea cakes He also met other members of Southey's hospitable household his two sisters in law Mrs Coleridge whom he thought even worse than Mrs Southey and Mrs Lovell formerly an actress (whom he liked) the widow of Robert Lovell the young poet friend of Coleridge and Southey in their early Bristol days Bysshe encountered no other local literary celebrities neither De Quincey nor bluff Christopher North and his desire to meet the other lake poets Coleridge and Wordsworth was not fulfilled

The young couple in engaging the furnished rooms at Chestnut Cottage had not thought of including the garden in their arrangements When a member of the Southey household asked Harriet if it was let with their apartments she replied Oh no the garden is not ours but then you know the people let us run about in it whenever Percy and I are tired of sitting in the house

¹ On January 2 1812

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Bysshe and Harriet were, as this story suggests, in some respects still rather like a couple of overgrown children. He complained rather indignantly of his treatment by Mr Dare, the landlord of Chestnut Cottage, and remarked, "Strange prejudices have these country people." Mr Dare told Bysshe that he was not satisfied with him, because the country were gossiping very strangely of his proceedings. The explanation was that Bysshe had been talking one evening to Harriet and Eliza about the nature of the atmosphere, and the young chemist made some experiments with hydrogen gas, the flame of which was vivid enough to be observed at some distance. Mr Dare was unconvinced, and said, "I am very ill satisfied with this. Sir, I don't like to talk of it. I wish you to provide yourself elsewhere." Bysshe added that he had with much difficulty quieted his landlord's fears. "He does not, however, much like us, and I am by no means certain that he will permit us to remain."

Remembering the Duke of Norfolk's friendly interposition in the spring, when he tried to get Bysshe to take up politics, he wrote before he left York to the Duke to ask him to intercede on his behalf with Mr Shelley in regard to his marriage and his allowance. He also put in a word on behalf of Medwin, from whom he had borrowed a sum of money to

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enable him to carry off Harriet to Edinburgh. He had heard that the Horsham lawyer had had a *rencontre* with Mr Shelley who disbelieved that he was ignorant of the purpose for which Bysshe had borrowed the money. The Duke good naturedly wrote to Mr Shelley some days later as he noted in his diary that he would go to Field Place to confer with him on the unhappy difference with his son from whom I have a letter before me. He also wrote to Bysshe to say that he would be glad to interfere but with little hope of success fearing that his father and not he alone will see his late conduct in a different point of view from what he sees it. The Duke fulfilled his promise and dined with Mr Shelley at Horsham on November 10 having previously written a letter cordially worded inviting Bysshe Harriet and Eliza Westbrook to visit him at Greystoke his place in Cumberland where they went on December 1 for a few days. It was a kindly act of the Duke to receive Bysshe and his wife especially as it served to break the ice with Mr Shelley if it did not lead to a reconciliation with him.

The Duke showed much friendliness to his guests was quite charmed with Eliza Westbrook and invited several people to meet them including William Calvert of Greta Bank the son of one of his former stewards and brother of Raisley Calvert. Words

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worth's generoûs benefactor Shelley, who took to Calvert, wrote of him as "an elderly man who seemed to know all my concerns, and the expression of his face, whenever I held the arguments, which I do *everywhere*, was such as I shall not readily forget I shall have more to tell of him, for we have met him befoie in these mountains, and his particular look then struck Harriet " Before he left the Lake District, Bysshe received much kindness from Mr Calvert, with whom he was soon on terms of friendly intimacy

Bysshe's finances were now in a bad state, and he was forced to think of ways and means Mr Westbrook had sent a small sum of money to his daughter, but with an intimation that no more was to be expected from him, and it was almost with Bysshe's last guinea that they were able to visit the Duke So Bysshe wrote to Mr Medwin for advice with regard to raising some money on his expectations, and asked for the loan of a small sum to meet his immediate expenses He said, " We are now so poor as to be actually in danger of being deprived of the necessities of life " Medwin's reply to these inquiries was very likely unsatisfactory, the result of the visit to Greystoke was more promising The Duke wrote to Mr Shelley himself, and advised Bysshe also to write to his father and ask for pardon The two following

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letters to Timothy Shelley were printed by Professor Dowden in his *Life of Shelley*¹ but as they form a link in Bysshe's correspondence with his father at this time no excuse is made for reprinting them

P B Shelley to Timothy Shelley

KESWICK CUMBERLAND

Dec 13 1811

MY DEAR SIR—I have lately returned from Grey stoke where I had been invited by the Duke of Norfolk that he might speak with me of the unhappy differences which some of my actions have occasioned The result of his advice was that I should write a letter to you the tone of whose expression should be sorrow that I should have wounded the feelings of persons so nearly connected with me Undoubtedly I should thus express the real sense of my mind for when convinced of my error no one is more ready to own that conviction than myself nor to repair any injuries which might have resulted from a line of conduct which I had pursued

On my expulsion from Oxford you were so good as to allow me £200 per annum, you also added a promise of my being unrestrained in the exercise of the completest free agency

In consequence of this last I married a young lady whose personal character is unimpeachable This action (admitting it to be done) in its very nature required dissimulation much as I may regret that

¹ These letters were reprinted with a hitherto unpublished passage restored to that of December 23 1812 in the collected edition of *Shelley's Letters* 1909

Shelley in England

I had condescended to employ it My allowance was then withdrawn; I was left without money four hundred miles from one being I knew, every day liable to be exposed to the severest exile of penury Surely something is to be allowed for human feelings, when you reflect that the letters you then received were written in this state of helplessness and dereliction And now let me say that a reconciliation with you is a thing which I very much desire Accept my apologies for the uneasiness which I have occasioned, believe that my wish to repair any uneasiness is firm and sincere

I regard these family differences as a very great evil, and I much lament that I should in any wise have been instrumental in exciting them

I hope you will not consider what I am about to say an insulting want of respect or contempt, but I think it my duty to say that, however great advantages might result from such concessions, I can make no promise of concealing my opinions in political or religious matters—I should consider myself culpable to excite any expectation in your mind which I should be unable to fulfil What I have said is actuated by the sincerest wish of being again upon those terms with you which existed some time since I have not employed hypocrisy to heighten the regret which I feel for having occasioned uneasiness I have not employed meanness to concede what I consider it my duty to withhold Such methods as these would be unworthy of us both I hope you will consider what I have said, and I remain, dear Father, with sincerest wishes for our perfect right understanding, yours respectfully and affectionately,

P B SHELLEY

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Timothy Shelley to P B Shelley

FIELD PLACE

Dec 19 1811

DEAR BYSSHE—I am glad the visit to Greystoke Castle and the Society of that Nobleman from whom I have experienced the kindest Friendship has had the effect on your mind to be convinced of the errors you have fallen into towards your Parents

You withdrew yourself from my Protection after having promised to enter into some Professional line which you then deemed the choice of free agency upon an allowance of £200 per ann

I hope and trust everything will in due time and proper Probation be brought to an excellent work

I never can admit within my Family of the Principles that caused your expulsion from Oxford—I remain &c

T S

P B Shelley to Timothy Shelley

KESWICK (CUMBERLAND)

Dec 23 1811

MY DEAR SIR—Your letter which arrived last night gave me much pleasure I hasten to acknowledge it and to express my satisfaction that you should no longer regard me in an unfavourable light

Mr Westbrook at present allows for his daughter's subsistence £200 per annum which prevents any situations occurring with similar unpleasantness as that at Edinburgh

My principles still remain the same as those which caused my expulsion from Oxford When questions which regard the subject are agitated in society I

Shelley in England

explain my opinions with coolness and moderation
You will not, I hope, object to my train of thinking
I could disguise it, but this would be falsehood and
hypocrisy

Believe that what I have said is dictated by the
sincerest sentiments of respect

I hope I shall sometimes have the pleasure of hearing from you, and that my mother and sisters are well Mr Whitton opened a letter addressed to the former I know not what may be the precise state of that affair which is there alluded to, but I cannot consider myself blameable for having interfered

I beg my love to my mother and sisters, and remain,
with sentiments of respect, your affectionate son,

P B SHELLEY

One may be sure that Mr Westbrook's allowance of £200 a year was a godsend to the tenants of Chestnut Cottage, especially as it paved the way to a similar allowance from Mr Shelley But, notwithstanding Bysshe's straitened means, he was firm in his convictions as to the iniquity of entails He had heard from Captain Pilfold, so he wrote to Miss Hitchener on December 15, of a "meditated proposal," on the part of his father and grandfather, to make his income immediately larger than Mr Shelley's, on condition that he consented to entail the estate on his eldest son, and in default of male issue on his brother¹ "Silly

¹ No evidence to support this statement has been discovered in the Shelley-Whitton papers

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dotards! he exclaimed, do they think I can be thus bribed and ground into an act of such contemptible injustice and inutility that I will forswear my principles in consideration of £2000 a year that the good will I could thus purchase or the ill will I could thus overbear would recompense me for the loss of self esteem of conscious rectitude? And with what face can they make to me a proposal so insultingly hateful Dare *one* of them propose such a condition to my face—to the face of my virtuous man—and not sink into nothing at his disdain? That I should entail £120 000 of command over labour of power to remit this to employ it for beneficent purposes on one whom I know not—who might instead of being the benefactor of mankind be its bane or use this for the worst purposes which the real delegate of my chance given property might convert into a most useful instrument of benevolence! No! this you will not suspect me of What I have told you will serve to put in its genuine light the grandeur of aristocratical distinctions and to show that contemptible vanity will gratify its *unnatural* passion at the expense of every just humane and philanthropic consideration

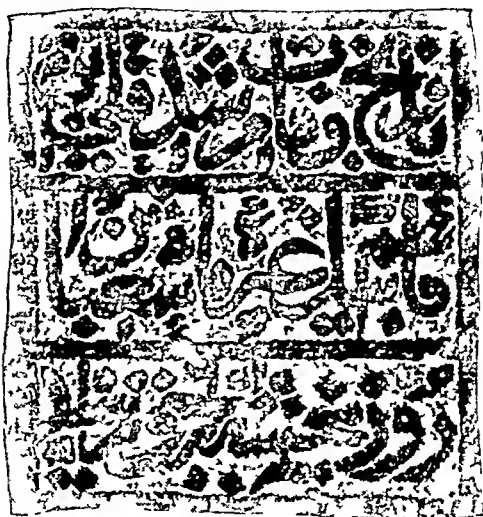
Tho' to a radiant angel linked
Will satiate itself in a celestial bed
And prey on garbage

Bysshe's expressed desire for a reconciliation with

Shelley in England

his father was no doubt prompted to a great extent by his longing to see his sisters - It must have been a great blow to him when he was given to understand by his father's last letter that, so long as he entertained opinions such as had caused his expulsion from Oxford, he could not expect to be received under the paternal roof. Any hope, therefore, of seeing his sisters had vanished, for a time at least. What Bysshe wanted to know was whether they still cared for him, or whether they had all been influenced to consider him as bad as he appeared in his father's eyes. He had no hopes of Elizabeth, who had ceased to be one of the faithful, and he had realised now for some time that she had gone over to the enemy's side. But his little sister Hellen was otherwise, she who had befriended her schoolfellow, Harriet Westbrook, when none of the other girls at the school would speak to her, she, he thought, might be counted on to send some proof of affection for her outcast brother. Bysshe therefore wrote to Hellen, and, bearing in mind his father's vigilance in intercepting letters, he enclosed it in a note to his grandfather's huntsman, Allen Etheridge, who lived at Horsham, consequently his correspondence would not, as he thought, be liable to his father's inspection.

(a) On a tomb near Children's Park, Mughal Pura, Hyderabad Deccan



Scale 25

(b) On a tomb near Machhli Kaman Hyderabad Deccan



Scale 2

The inscription carved around the *mahrāb* in this mosque, contains the *Shūte durūd*, an extract from the *Qur'ān* (Ch 59, verses 21-4), the date 1003 H (1593 A D) and the name of the calligraphist, *امام حسن محمد الفکار* (Plate XVI)

IX —An inscription from Mughalpura, Hyderabad City

Mughalpura was a fashionable quarter of the Hyderabad City during the later Qutb Shāhī period, and there are some mosques and tombs which bear inscriptions of that period¹ The present inscription is carved on a tomb, situated near the Children's Park, which has been laid out by the City Improvement Board recently The inscription gives the date 1006 H which falls within the reign of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, the fifth king of the dynasty and founder of Hyderabad City The script is *Nasḫ* of a thick type and the language Persian I have deciphered the inscription as follows —

Plate XVII(a)

تاریخ وفات مرشد ملی نس
 فاسم بنگ عرۃ ماه سعبان
 ۱۰۰۶ سنه ۱۰۰۶ سنه حو رسند ○

TRANSLATION

The date of the death of Murshid Qulī, son of Qāsim Beg—on the 1st of Shā'bān, Thursday 1006 H (10th March, 1597 A D), he was united with God

X —Inscription on a tomb near Machhlī Kamān, Hyderabad City

In Hyderabad City, the piazza in front of the old Qutb Shāhī palaces had four lofty arches facing the cardinal points The arches still exist and one of them facing the east is called the *مچھلی کمان* or the Fish Arch Fish was one of the emblems of royalty during the Qutb Shāhī period, and a large bamboo and paper fish is still hung from the apex of this arch as an old royalty sign on festive occasions² In the vicinity of this arch there is a tomb with an inscriptional tablet³ bearing the *Shūte durūd* and the date 9th Shawwāl, 1075 H (Saturday, 15th April, 1665 A D) The inscription does not mention the name of the person who is buried in the grave The style of writing is *Nasḫ* (Plate XVIIb)

XI —Inscription on Sālīh Begam's Mosque, Hyderabad City

The mosque is situated near the Kotla 'Ālī Jāh and has several inscriptions in its prayer hall They consist of quotations from the *Qur'ān*,⁴ religious texts⁵ and the phrase—

بنای مسجد عصمت بنده صالح بنگم

¹ For Mughalpura and the inscriptions therein see my article in the *E I M* for 1925-26, pp 25-26

² For further particulars regarding the arch see the *Annual Report*, Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, for the year 1918-19, p 4

³ The tablet measures 1 ft 10 in by 1 ft 6 in

⁴ The *Qur'anic* quotations are Chapters I, II (v 256), CIX, CXII, CXIII, CIV, XCVII

⁵ The religious texts are the *Shūte durūd*, the *Nadī 'Ālī* and the names of God

In the courtyard of this mosque there is a grave which has a sarcophagus of black stone. At the head of the grave an inscriptional tablet is fixed which contains two Arabic couplets and some religious texts. The grave is reported to be that of Sâlih Begam but the inscriptional tablet does not bear her name nor does it bear the date of her death.

Over the doorway of this mosque a large inscription is carved which records the bequest of some houses and shops for the maintenance of the mosque, and also contains an imprecation against all users of the gift. Such imprecations are frequently found in contemporary land grants, compiled in the languages of the Deccan and South India and are rare in North India.¹ The language of the inscription is Persian and the script *Nasta'liq*. In the beginning there are three couplets of a rambling character and after them comes the imprecation. The purpose of the bequest is further described and then follows another imprecation. I have deciphered the text as follows:—

Plate XVIII

تحت مسجد وقف کردم خانه ملکى امام
 در کردم تاكه باشد مر مراد زور دین
 ار محمدان و عزیزانرا نباشد شرکتى
 اگر زن باشد درین خانه و ملکها وقف مسجد دعوا (sic) کند نا پدر خود و اگر مرد د مادر خود
 در مکه معظمه ردا کرده باشد - تاریخ سنه ۱۰۴۷ هـ

صالح ندگم سیده چنین نوشت شرکه در خانه و ملکهای وقف باشد گزایه بدهد تا فروش و چیراج
 مسجد و مؤذن و مراثش شود آنچه ناتی ماند طعام سالیده و نماز شود و هرکه گزایه بدهد و در خانه و ملکى
 باشد خود (۵) لعنت خدا گردان شود و زری او همچون زری خود گردد در درج جهنم

TRANSLATION

(1) ' I have bequeathed all the houses and the shops for the mosque in the names of the Chosen Prophet (Muhammad) and his son in law 'Ali' and (in the names of) their noble progeny and descendants

(2) " I have made this bequest with the hope that on the day of judgment my desire be fulfilled, and the select (things) of both worlds, as well as the cup bearer and the wine be in my possession.

(3) " My friends and relatives have no share in this property, and whoever claims it his claim is unlawful "

' If she is a woman who lays claim to these houses and shops, which have been bequeathed for the mosque, she (as it were) commits adultery with her father in the sacred precincts of Mecca, and if he is a man, he (as it were) commits adultery with his mother in the same precincts. In the year 1067 H (1657 A D) "

¹ See the inscriptions on the mosque of Mivân Mîshl, *I. I. M.*, 1917 18, pp. 50-55, and the Dornhalli inscription, published in the same journal for the year 1931-32, pp. 25-6

² The letter seems to have been left out here

³ Murtaza, literally means 'the chosen', a title of 'Ali

[illegible]

افتریح جبریل مع سبحان و قوت و نور انتعاش و نور الخیر با حق اندر طرح امر مسالیند و بی شک استوار و در

صالح بیلر سید پرچین بهشت کرد خانها و ملیکهای قفق باشد در این راه

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।

“Sāhī Begam Sayyida has written to this effect that whoever will stay in the bequeathed houses and shops he shall pay the rent, which is to be spent on the carpets and lamps of the mosque and (also) on the pay of the *mu'adhdhin* (the public crier) and the steward. And if any amount is left over (after the expenditure specified above) that will be *dhent* on the annual feasting and (special) prayers. Whoever will stay in the house or the shop, and will not pay the rent, shall be overtaken by the curse of God, and his head shall become the head of a pig and he shall be in the infernal fire of hell.”

XII — Inscription in a mosque near Kotla 'Āli Jāh, Hyderabad City

This inscription is carved on a loose slab¹ which is now stored in one of the rooms of a mosque near Kotla 'Āli Jāh. The inscription records the bequest of a shop and an upper apartment for the maintenance of the mosque. The record consists of six lines of Persian verse, written in the *Nastā'liq* characters. I have deciphered the text as follows —

Plate XIX(a)

Line 1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ○ توبی رب العرب نزد آثار مشرفه حصرت مردعی علی
علیه السلام در حدادان این

Line 2 مسجد تمام (۹) نسعی محمد رضا ولد لطف الله دنگ و حدیجه خانم دنت ملک
محمد رس و شوهر صدق تمام مسجد

Line 3 مذکور را تمام و کمال رسانیدند بیست و هفتم شهر رمضان المبارک سنه ۱۱۱۱ و یک
دکل مع (۹)

Line 4 دالا حانه مدصل که (۹) مسجد دسته سده اسب کرانه این برای حصرت و آب
و مؤن و فراس و روستائی (۹)

Line 5 مسجد مدبور حرج نمایند اگر از همسدره و نادر و دختر و نرات انسان دخل نمایند
دو لعنت خدا گردان و ندرت رسول

Line 6 شرمسار سرت آمدن ثم آمدن ○

TRANSLATION

“In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate

“By the grace of Almighty God this mosque, near the sacred relics of His Holiness, the chosen, 'Alī, may the peace of God be upon him¹ was built and completed by the sincere efforts of Muhammad Rīza, son of Lutfu'lla Beg, and Khādija Khānam, the daughter of Mahk Muhammad, who are husband and wife, on the 27th of the holy month of Ramazān 1111 H (Thursday, 10th March,

¹ The inscriptional tablet measures 2 ft 3 in by 9 in

² It is a very small building having no architectural significance

1700 A D) and the rent of a shop with an upper apartment, which have been built adjacent to the mosque, is to be spent on the mattings and water and on the pay of the *mu'adhdhin* (public-crier) and steward and on the light of the said mosque. If the sister or brother or daughter or their children will interfere (in this bequest) the curse of God shall overtake them, and they shall feel ashamed in the presence of the Prophet (Muhammad) Amen! and again Amen!

XIII —Inscription on Mahdī Khān's tomb, Hyderabad City

The tomb of Navāb Mahdī Khān is in a small enclosure (17 ft square), built in the vicinity of the Kotla 'Ālī Jāh. The sarcophagus of the tomb is of black basalt and at the top of it a *Qur'ānic* text¹ and the epitaph are carved. The *Qur'ānic* text is written in the *Thulūṭh* characters of an elegant type, while the epitaph is in the *Nastā'liq* script. The epitaph has been deciphered as follows —

Plato XIX(b)

سال تاریخ ولادت محد عمر و وفات عرسه تاریخ ارحطاف و اسم و ار صاحب علان

۱۱۲۰ ۱۰۱ ۱۰۱۹

انوار مدر محد علان صاحب

سده

۱۰۱ ۱۱۲۰ ۱۰۱۹

TRANSLATION

"The date of birth, the period of life, and the date of death, all three may be ascertained (according to the *Abjad* system) from the title, the name and the title of honour Sāhib, of Navvāb Mīr Mahdī Khān Sāhib."

The letters in the title of *انوار مدر محد علان* give the year 1120 H, which is the date of the death of the Navvāb. The honorific *صاحب* gives 101, which may be taken as the age of the Navvāb when he died. If we deduct 101 from 1120, the year of the Navvāb's death, we get 1019 the date of the Navvāb's birth.

XIV-XX —Inscriptions in the Ghassāl-wārī, Hyderabad City

Ghassāl-wārī, as its meaning indicates, was once the quarter of the professional washers of the bodies of the dead. The quarter is close to the Mīr-ka Dā'ira,² an important necropolis of Hyderabad City. In this quarter is a small mosque bearing an inscription of Bibi Khadija, daughter of Mīr 'Alī Astarābādī, whose tomb is situated in the Mīr-ka Dā'ira.³ Near the mosque is a platform on which there are several tombs bearing inscriptions.

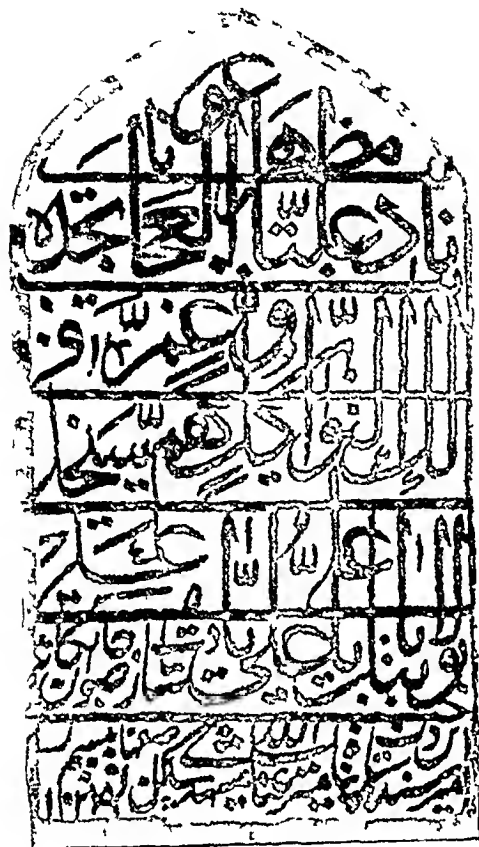
The inscription reproduced as Plate XXa is carved on a tablet fixed at the head of a tomb on the platform. The inscription contains the *Nādī* 'Alī, the name of the deceased and the date of his death. The style of writing is *Tughra*. I have deciphered the name of the deceased and the date as follows —

¹ Chapter XCVII

² See *E I M*, 1917 18, p. 45

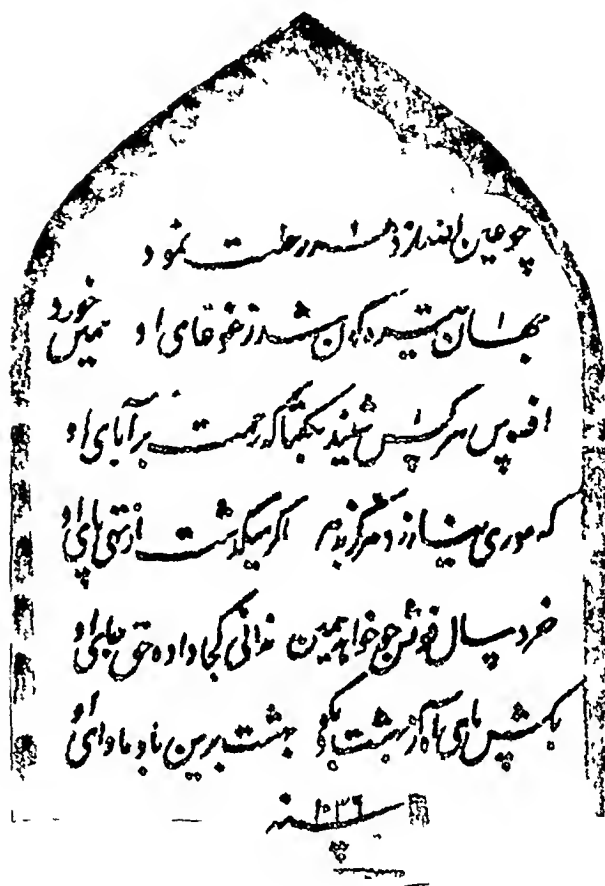
³ The inscription on the tomb of Bibi Khadija has been studied in the *E I M*, for 1917 18, p. 46.

(a) On a tomb in Ghassalwari, Sultan Shahi, Hyderabad Deccan



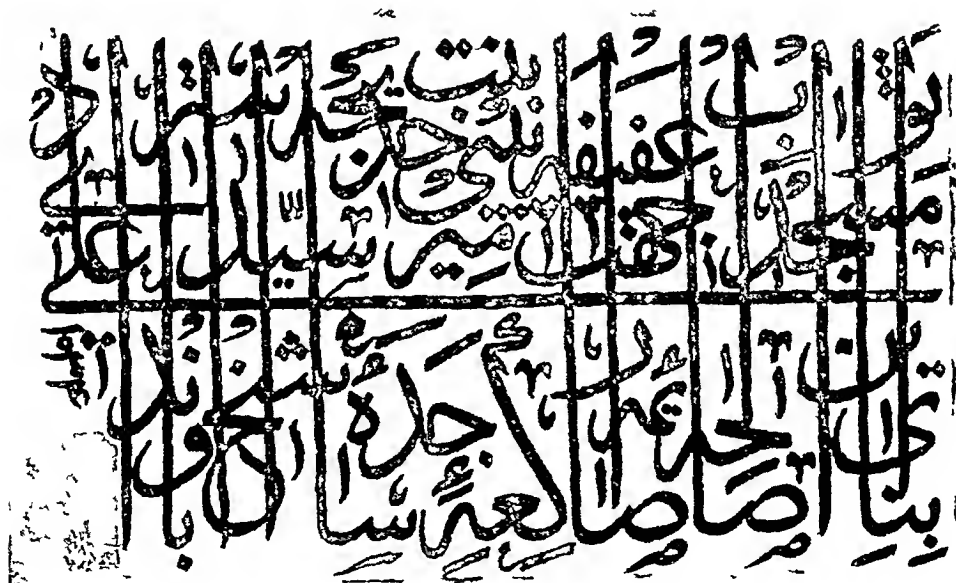
Scale 166

(c) On another tomb in Ghassalwari, Sultan Shahi, Hyderabad Deccan



Scale 2

(b) On a mosque in Ghassalwari, Sultan Shahi, Hyderabad Deccan



Scale 142

Plate XX(a)

سیادت پناه رضوان حایگاه

امیر سید اس سادات پناه میر عبداللہ مسہدی ساکن اصفہان ہجرت ۱۰۲۸

TRANSLATION

(1) "The refuge of Sayyids, (who is) residing in paradise, Amir Sayyid, son of the refuge of Sayyids, Mir 'Ināyatullā of Mashhad (by birth) and of Isfahan by residence on the 20th of Rajab, in the year 1028 H" (Wednesday, 25th June, 1619 A D)

The tablet, on which the above inscription is carved, has the phrase الحکم لله and the Shute durūd on its back¹

The next inscription of this locality, in the chronological order, is carved over the *mihāb* of the mosque referred to above (p 30) It consists of two lines of Persian prose written in the *Tughra* style I have deciphered the text of the inscription as follows —

Plate XX(b)

ندای این مسجد حب ثواب عفوہ صالحہ صادمہ راکعہ سادہ

ندی حدیثہ لب میر سند علی اسرارانی سنہ ۱۰۳۴

TRANSLATION

"This mosque was built for the bestowal of divine favour on the chaste, pious, austere, devout and religious (lady), Bibi Khadija, daughter of Mir Sayyid 'Alī of Astarabād, the Shaykh of Āwand, in the year 1034 H (1624 A D)"²

As Bibi Khadija, according to the inscription carved on her tomb, died in 1031 H,³ this mosque was built three years after her death

Another inscription at this site is on a tablet fixed at the head of a tomb on the platform in the vicinity of the mosque The inscription consists of five Persian couplets written in the *Nast'aliq* characters The couplets lament the death of one 'Ainu'lla and contain a echronogram giving the *hijra* year 1036 H (1627 A D) The inscriptional tablet does not seem to be in its original place for the tomb at the head of which it is fixed, bears on its sarcophagus an epitaph giving the date 7th Jumada I 1222 H The figures giving this year are written in two lines, 12 at the top and 22 below them If these figures represent the *hijra* year the view that the head tablet belongs to another tomb is correct But if 12 and 22 represent separately something else the head tablet giving the year 1036 H may belong to this tomb and the year may be taken as the date of the death of the person buried therein I have deciphered the couplets as follows —

Plate XX(c)

حورس الله ار دهر رحل دمرد حهاں ندر گورں شد ر عوعای ار
همیں حورں افسوس شرکس سند نگنا کہ رحم در آنای ار

¹ The inscriptional tablet measures 2 ft 3 in by 1 ft 3 in

² For the epithets used in this inscription see *E I M*, 1917 18, p 46

³ Idem

که مروری ندارد هرگز دهر اگر مگدسب از تهی پای از
 درد سال فروش خو خواهد همنی ندانی کجا داده خو حالی از
 کش پای آه از دهب ر نگو دهب درین ناد ماوای از
 سنه ۱۰۳۶

TRANSLATION

- (1) " When 'Ainu'lla departed from this world, the atmosphere grew thick (lit dark) by the cries which were raised
 (2) " Whoever heard of his death showed grief and said, ' May mercy be upon his forbears '
 (3) " He did not hurt even an ant although it passed from under his foot
 (4) " Wisdom inquired about the year of his death thou (perchance) dost not know the place which has been given him by God
 (5) " Take away the last letter of the word آه (that is ه) from دهب and say (the phrase)—may the highest heaven be his resting place!—is the chronogram '
 1036 H (1627 A D)

The inscription on the sarcophagus of the tomb has been deciphered as follows —

Plate XXII(c)

پنس مسجد نمسکن خاکی
 ۱۲
 هعتم ماه حمامی الزل ۲۲

TRANSLATION

" In front of the mosque, in the earthly abode "

7th of Jumada I 12
 22

On another tomb, built on the same platform is an inscription, containing the *Shiite durūd* and the date 1080 H (1667 A D) The style of writing is *Thulth* of an intricate type (Plate XXI) The tomb is apparently of some noble of the Qutb *Shi'i* period, whose name is, however, not given in the inscription

Near the above tomb there is another with an inscriptional tablet² fixed at its head The tablet bears inscriptions on both sides The side facing the tomb has the phrase, *الحکم لله* and the *Shiite durūd* (Plate XXIIa) The back bears the following text —

Plate XXII(b)

هوالمکی الناقی

وفات المرحوم المعزز فردوس مکانی

سید شهاب الدین محمد گدائی سب چهار شده

¹ The phrase-- ار ناد ماوای از according to the *Aljad* system gives the year 1041, but if we deduct the numerical value of the letter ه, which is five, we get 1036 in which year 'Ainu'lla died

² The tablet measures 2 ft 6 in by 1 ft 6 in

On a tomb in Ghassalvari, Sultan Shahi, Hyderabad Deccan



(a) On a tomb in Ghassalwari, Sultan Shahu, Hyderabad Deccan



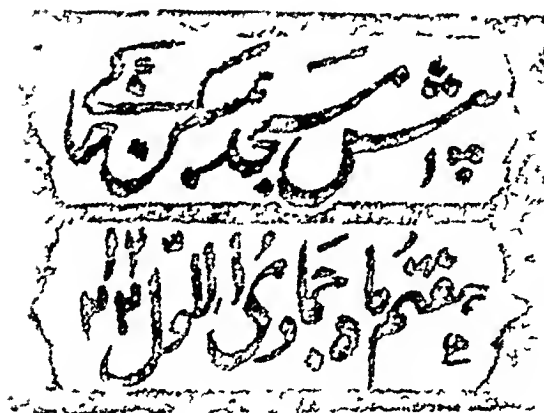
Scale 166

(b) On another tomb in Ghassalwari, Sultan Shahu, Hyderabad Deccan



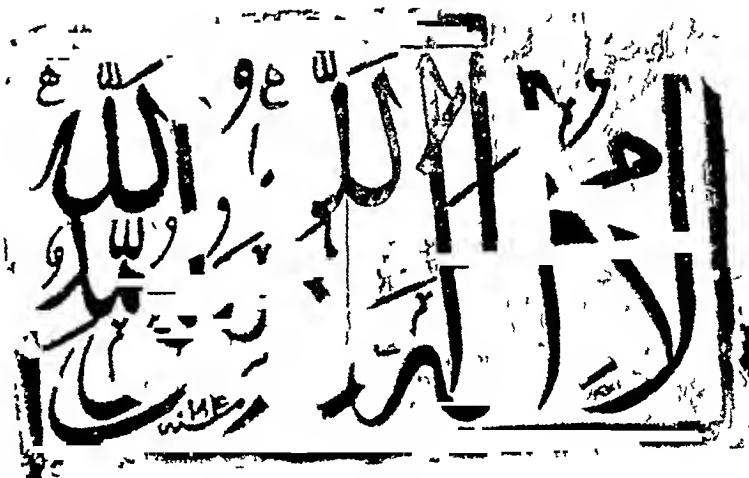
Scale 166

(c) On another tomb in Ghassalwari, Sultan Shahu, Hyderabad Deccan



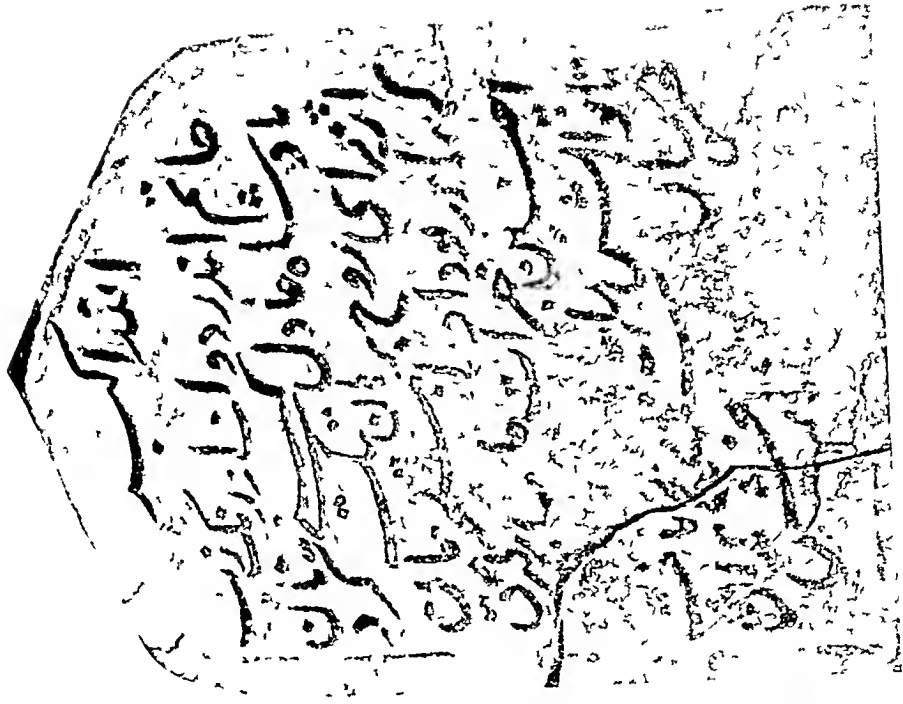
Scale 25

(d) On Kamani Bes-ki-Masjid, Kalyani

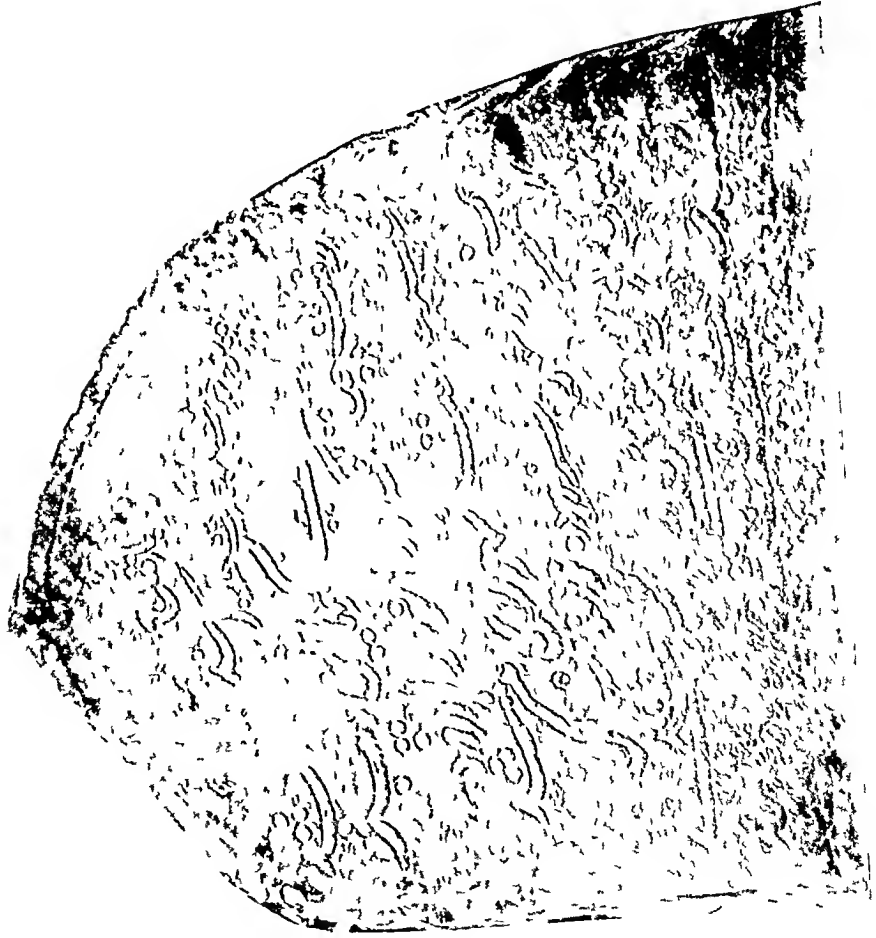


Scale 25

(b) On a slab fixed along the same footpath



(a) On a slab fixed along the old footpath near Ajunt
Ghat, Hyderabad Deccan



نوردهم شهر ديعودة في سده مائه و العسرة

نعد الالف ۱۱۱۰

TRANSLATION

“ He is the living, the ever lasting (God) ”

“ The death of Shāikh Shihābu'd-Dīn, Muhammad Gīlānī, whom God has taken into His mercy, (and) whose sins have been forgiven, (and) who is residing in Paradise, occurred on the night of Wednesday, 19th of the month of Dhū Qā'dh in the year 1110 H (9th May, 1699 A D) ”

TWO MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANĀD NEAR THE AJANTA GHAT HYDERABAD STATE

BY G. YAZDANI

Both of these inscriptions were brought to my notice by Khan Bahadur Mr. Sayed Ahmad, Curator of the Ajanta Caves, who had discovered them in the survey of the hill country round about Ajanta. The hillock of Fardāpūr (کل فردا پور) is frequently mentioned in the Mughal histories, and their armies, when moving from Burhanpūr to Aurangabād or Daulatabād, entered the Deccan plateau by the precipitous hill-path, which is now called the Ajanta Ghat¹. It appears that the track in those days was uncertain, and it was cleared by Shāh Jahān, as one of the inscriptions records, on one of his marches to the Deccan.

The record consists of three Persian couplets, inscribed in six lines, and of a line of prose which mentions that the inscription was carved in the reign of Shāh Jahān. The style of writing is somewhat crude, being *Nastā'liq* of a poor type. I have deciphered the text as follows —

Plate XXIII (a)

تا ملاح

چو خورشید حمال حلقه گرسد	میای کرها این ریب مرسد
سرب (۶) حد انکه در انوار امرد	بهر ساعت طهوری مندر (۶) سد
هرار و چهل امرد	که این کوبل صفای راه سر سد

در عمل صاحب فران ثانی ساه جهاں ناساه عاری

TRANSLATION

“ O Opener !

Verse

(1) “ When the sun of his (king's) glory shone forth,
There was adornment and decoration even in the midst of rocks ”

¹ For the convenience of visitors to the Ajanta Caves, His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government have now constructed a motorable road along the old track.

(2) "As far as he travelled the illumination increased

As if every hour divine light shone forth"

(3) "It was the year 1040 H (1630 A D)

When on this hillock the track was cleared"

"Under the Government of His Majesty, the second lord of the happy conjunction, *Shāh Jahān*, the victorious king"

The tablet of the second inscription is also set up along the same track and it refers to the building of a charitable work, a well or a resting place, for the convenience of visitors. The inscription gives the name of Aurangzeb, and also of one *Hātim*, who was apparently a local officer. The record is in Persian verse consisting of four couplets. The script is *Nastā'liq*. Some of the letters of the 3rd and 4th couplets have disappeared through the weathering of the stone. I have deciphered the inscription as follows —

Plate XXIII (b)

الله أكبر

حام اندر دولت اورنگ رب

پادشاه عادل گندی سنان

ار برای روح برهان بنگ کرد

که برادر بود او را همجو حان

ایستادن حذر آب جاری بر طرق

تا بوالش را -

حرف . . . تاریخ یاب

تاریخش ندان . . .

TRANSLATION

"God, the Greatest"

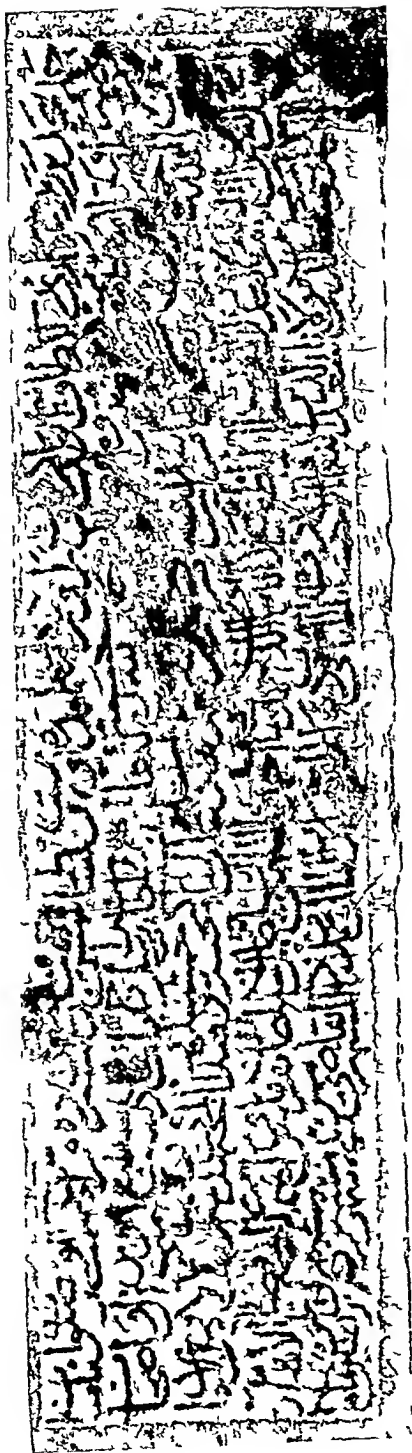
(1) "During the reign of Aurangzeb, the just and world-conquering king, *Hātim*

(2) "For the peace of the soul of *Burhān Beg*, whom *Hātim* considered his brother from his heart,

(3) "(He built) along the path this charitable work of continual utility, so that the reward of it-

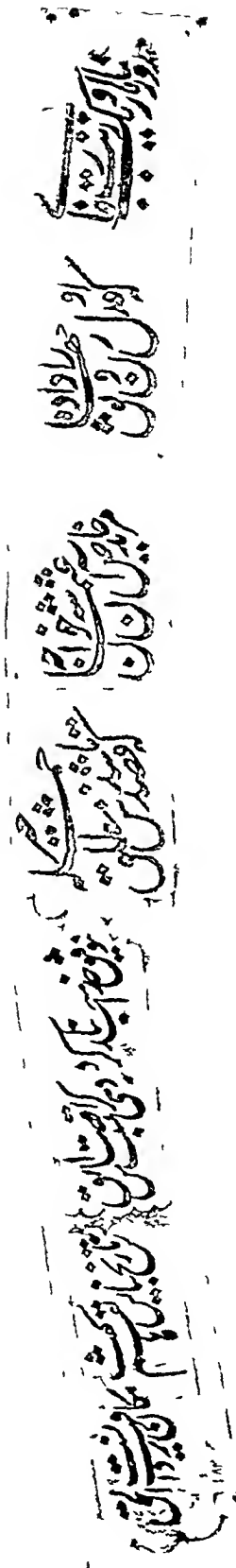
(4) " found the chronogram,
be regarded as the date of the building"

(a) On a tomb at Naubad near Bidar



Scale 25

(b) Inscription on a mosque at Chandapur, Bidar District



Scale 083

TWO NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BIDAR DISTRICT, HYDERABAD STATE

BY G. YAZDANI

Last year (1936), Mr. Sultan 'Alī Khān Faruqī, Archaeological Surveyor, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, brought to my notice two new inscriptions, one of which bears the name of the Bahmanī king 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ahmad Shāh al-Bahmanī (1436-58 A.D.), and the other of the Mughal king, Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.). The former record is carved over the doorway of a small tomb situated near a pleasant grove of mango trees at the village Naubād, in the suburbs of Bidar. The inscription consists of five lines of Persian prose written in *Thulth* characters of an intricate type. As the stone of the slab on which the inscription is carved is not close grained, it has suffered considerably from the weather, and the letters have been abraded in several places. The text of the inscription, however, has been deciphered in full and it is given below—

Plate XXIV(a)

- Line 1 حمد بنحد پروردگاری را که طایفه انوار گدین برآوردند معمار قدرت اوست و نساط سس
جهت زمین گسترده فراس حکمت اوست و صلوات نامنداهی
- Line 2 دروخته مطهر و قالب معطر معصوم آفرینش و مقصد اهل بندش ختم یسین¹
رحمة العالمین سلطان رسل سراج ملک هدایتی سبل سعید است و در آل و اصحاب او
- Line 3 رضوان الله علیهم اجمعین و بعد تمام شد این فتنه مریحه در دور عدل ناساه عالی
ندار کنکسور و حشمت مدار المکدک فی نصب سرادق الامن و الامان
- Line 4 المسمسک بالنص الله یامر بالعدل و الاحسان ابوالمطهر علاء الدین و الدین احمد ساه
بن احمد ساه التهمنی السلطان ابن السلطان نعمانیس و اهدنام اوصی قصه الاسلام
- Line 5 مولانا امام سمس الدین و الدین بن مولانا سعد الدین النعمانی الاحسدانادی
الدی (۶) دوان العضا نادر الملک محمد آباد المشهر نعمانی مهن فی سهر سده سع ر اربعین
و ثمانه ○ تا معین الانوار ○

TRANSLATION

"Unlimited praise is due to God, the architect of Whose providence built the vault of nine apartments of heaven, and the chamberlain of Whose wisdom spread the carpet of the six directions of the earth, and uncounted blessings be upon the holy mausoleum and the scented body (of Muhammad) who is the purpose of the creation, and the ideal of men of wisdom, the last of the prophets, the 'Mercy of God' on people, the prince of apostles, the lamp of faith, the leader of the paths (of Truth), the intercessor of the community, and upon his descendants and companions—with all of whom God be pleased! After that (be it known) that this delightful vault was built (lit. completed) during the just reign of the king of exalted rank, possessing Kaikhusrāu and Jamshīd's majesty, (who is) endeavouring to pitch the tents of peace and safety,

taking inspiration from the Word of God, '*administers with justice and benevolence*,¹ Abu l Muzzaffar 'Alāu'd-Dunya wad Dīn Ahmad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh, al Baihmanī, the Sultān son of Sultān at the instance and under the superintendence of the most sagacious of the Qāzīs of Islām, Maulāna Imām Muḥammad Shams-u'd-Dunya wad Dīn, son of Maulāna Sa'du'd-Dīn an-Nu'mūnī al-Ahsanabādī² the chief Qazī at the capital, Muhammadabād (Bīdar), known also as the Great Qāzī, in the *Shahūr san* 817 (1116 A.D.) O Opener of gates "

The other inscription is carved on a small mosque at Ohandāpūr a village some ten miles from Bīdar. The inscription is in Persian verse, consisting of eight hemistichs, each inscribed in a panel. The style of writing is *Nast'aliq* of ordinary merit. The text has been read as follows —

Plate XXIV (b)

در شاه از رنگ رب عاری	که عدل از حیا داده رری
میرد حاصل آن سه حواحه عثمان	که قصدش ناسد حمله حتر مطلق
تتویق خدا مسجد بنا کرد	دشمنی گر نسبت انصاف الحق
ر تاریخ دیایس مانعم کعب	مکان قرب برداشت الحق

۵۱۰۸۴

TRANSLATION

"During the reign of the victorious king Aurangzeb
Whose justice has embellished the world
The special servant (lit. disciple) of the king, *Akhūju* 'Uthmān
Whose intentions (all of them) are absolutely pure,
By the grace of God built this mosque,
If thou wouldst compare it with Masjid Aqsa (of Jerusalem) the simile will be proper
As regards the chronogram of the building, the Divine inspirer said to me,
'In truth, it is the abode of union with God ' "

SOME UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

By G. YAZDANI

In the last issue of this *Journal*³ Dr M. Nazim has published a large number of inscriptions from Ahmadnagar, Satara, Broach and Surat. But since the compilation of his article, Mr Q. M. Moneer, Archaeological Superintendent, Western Circle, Poona, has sent me a further instalment of twenty-two unpublished inscriptions from these four places in order to make their epigraphic survey as complete as practicable. Of these twenty-three records, thirteen belong to Ahmadnagar, five to Satara, two to Surat and two to Broach. As the majority of these

¹ *Qur'ān*, Ch. XVI verse 92

² Ahsanabad was the name given to Gulbarga by Baihmanī kings.

³ The last hemistich, according to the *Abyad* system gives the *hijri* date 1084 which corresponds with 1673 A.D.

⁴ *E. I. M.*, 1933-34, Supplement

epigraphs are interesting from both historical and artistic points of view I have undertaken to publish them in this *Journal*

I-XIII —Inscriptions from Ahmadnagar

The most important of these is an Arabic inscription carved in four lines on the Mangalwarpet Gate at Ahmadnagar¹ Dr M Nazim has published a Persian inscription of this gate,² and as the style of writing of the Persian inscription is identical with that of the Arabic epigraph, it appears that both the inscriptions were designed and carved by the same artist. The scripts of both the records is *Thuluth* of an elegant type, but the letters have been intertwined with one another in such a manner that the decipherment of the inscription at certain places has become difficult. The present epigraph records the gift of two charitable institutions, one apparently a caravanserai and the other a cistern or a water channel, both of which are alluded to in the Persian record³. The donor is Khwāja Husain, entitled, Ni'mat Khān, son of Khwāja Jalālu'd-Dīn As-Samnānī⁴. The text has been deciphered as follows:—

Plate XXV (a)

Line 1 في . . . السلطان الاعظم [ر] الحاقان الا [كرم] ملك ملوك
[العرب و] العجم طل [الله في] الارضين [حامى] شريعة سيد المرسلين سمي امير المؤمنين
عليهما السلام (ق) رب العالمين المودع من عدد [الله] خادم اهل بيت رسول الله السلطنة

Line 2 ر الخلافة موصى نظامها حلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و افاض على العالمين نوره و احسانه
نابى الكبراب للسعادة حواجه حسين شاه المحاطب بدمعته ان الرامل
الى رحمة الله الملك منس (ق) حواجه حلال الدين السماني في النعمة حنا المرحه (ق)
الموسومة .

Line 3 . نعمة (ق) في شهر سنة تسع و ستين و تسعمائة و وقف هذا
النفقة للطنفة على
ان لا تناعها ولا يرميها ولا تساجرهما ولا تعارهما وان لا يسكن
العناد

¹ The inscriptional tablet measures 7 ft 3 in by 2 ft

² *E I M*, 1933-34 (Supplement), pp 10-12, Plate V.

³ *Ibid* pp 10-12

⁴ Firsihta mentions the name of Ni'mat Khān in connection with the laying out of the Farh Bakhsish Garden

⁵ *Persian Text (Bombay ed)*, Vol II, p 279

⁶ I have been helped by Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad Sahib, in deciphering the text of this inscription

Line 4 فى النعم ولا ينقطع ها ولا تحرف اوص نو [لب]
 هذا [الدعة] الشريعة الى . . .
 والملايكه والناس اجمعين والحكم بحمد الله رب العالمين كنه العنبر محمد حسن فى سنة ٩٧٩

TRANSLATION

' Verily the great sultān, the most generous monarch, the king of the kings of Arabia and non Arab countries, the shadow of God on the diverse lands, the defender of the law of the chief of prophets (Muhammad), the namesake of the prince of the faithful (Murtaza 'Alī)—may the peace of God be upon both of them—the favoured one of God, the servant of the family of the prophet (Muhammad), the lord of the kingdom and caliphate, Murtaza Nizām Shāh¹, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and extend his bounty and munificence to the people of the world, the founder of these charitable institutions, attached to the tomb (of the founder), situated at this pleasant hilly (?) site, known as was Khvāja Husain Shāh, entitled Ni'mat Khān, son of the deceased, taken into the mercy of God, the Malik Mubīn (?), Khvāja Jalālu'd-Dīn As Samnānī, in the *Shahūr san* 979 (1578 A D) This beautiful place was dedicated with the stipulation that (the people) may avail themselves of its water for drinking purposes, and they may also avail themselves of such other comforts as are the right of ' the servants of God ', (but they are enjoined) not to sell these two (works), nor to bestow them upon any person, nor to mortgage them, nor to lease them, nor to lend them, nor to settle therein nor to cut in them, nor to change I entrust the guardianship of this holy place to and his descendants Whoever changeth it after he hath heard it, the curse of God and angels and men overtaketh him To conclude, praise be unto God, the Cherisher of all the worlds Written by the humble, Muhammad Husain in the year 979 (1578 A D) "

The second inscription of this series is from the Kālī Masjid, a Persian inscription of which has been noticed by Dr Nazim in the last issue of the *E I M* (1933 34, Supplement) The present epigraph consists of three lines of Arabic verse written in the *Thulūṭ* characters² The inscription is apparently not *in situ* for it refers to the tomb (?) of some high official who had descended from kings The Kālī Masjid, according to the Persian inscription, was built by one Sayyid Muntajab who seems to be an ordinary person for his name is not mentioned in contemporary history I have deciphered the text of the Arabic inscription as follows —

Plate XXV (b)

(1) اعظم الامجاد من نسل السلاطين العظام لم يزل مثواه فى دار النعا دار السلام

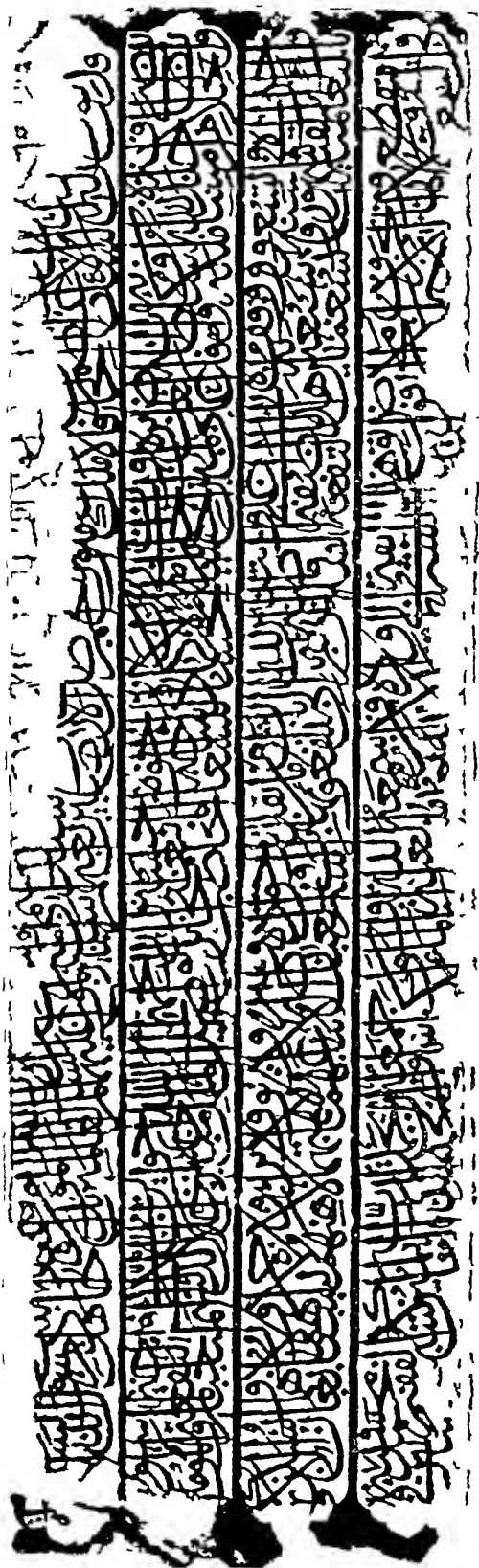
(2) حدّ فى طاعاب حلال التراب دائما ر انعا ر انعا مرضانه طول الدوام

(3) لسان مخدم عن طنب تاريخه فى منه يا هذا حد هذا الكلام

٨٢٨

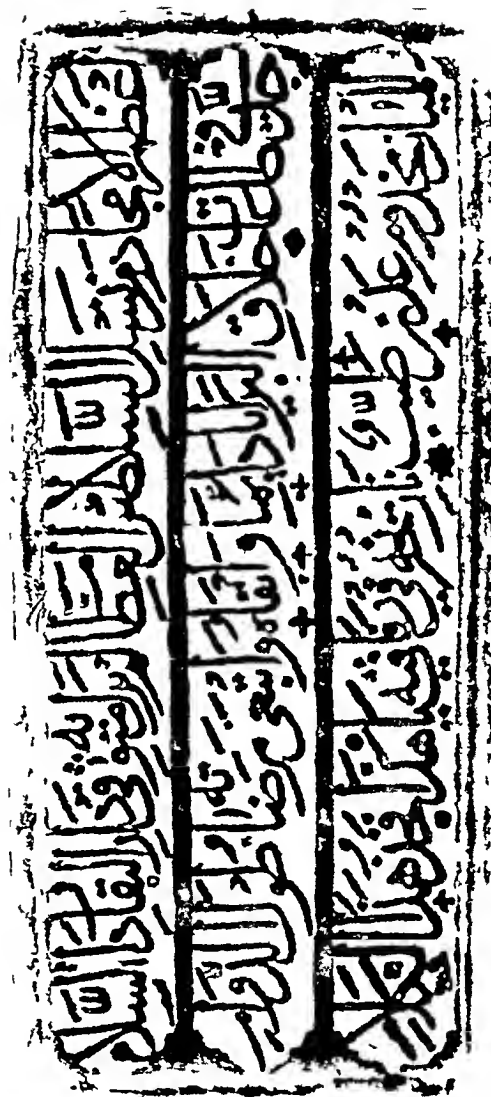
١٤٥

¹ This king ruled at Ahmadnagar from 1565-86 A D² The inscriptional tablet measures 2 ft 6 in by 1 ft 3 in



Scale 11

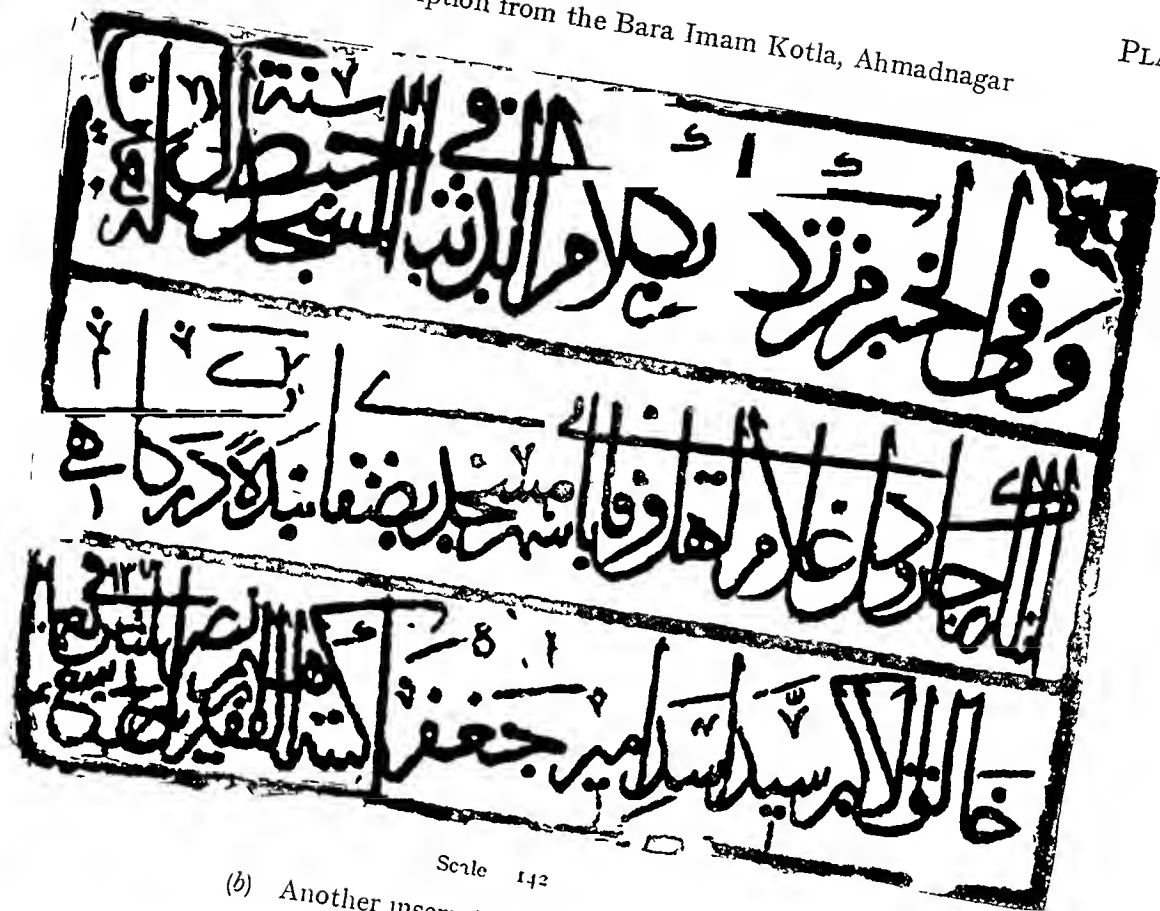
(b) Inscription on the Kali Masjid, Barud Gali, Ahmadnagar



Scale

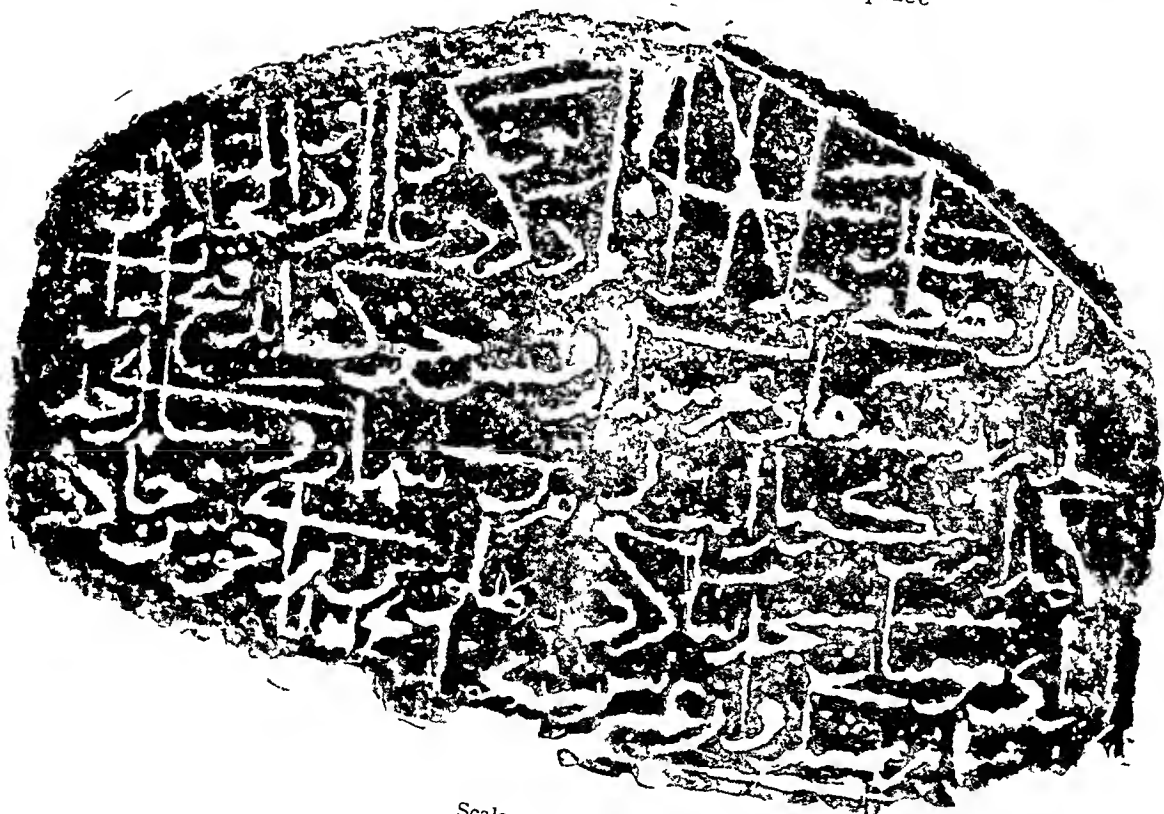
(a) Inscription from the Bara Imam Kotla, Ahmadnagar

PLATE XXVI



Scale 142

(b) Another inscription from the same place



Scale 2

TRANSLATION

(1) The most distinguished noble from the descent of illustrious kings, may the 'abode of bliss be his resting place in the everlasting world'

(2) "He always endeavoured to obey the Lord of Creation and always glorified Him and sought His good will

(3) "The chronogram—'Adn Tayyib' was composed by Miyān Makhdūm but if it is incomplete, add the numerical value of the phrase—'these are the words' "

The words عدن طيب and هذا الكلام jointly give the year 973 which corresponds to 1566 A D

The third inscription of Ahmadnagar is carved on a mosque, styled the Sonairī Masjid (the Golden mosque), situated at the Bāra Imām Kotla² The inscription begins with a saying of the Prophet Muhammad, and thereafter gives the name of the building with that of its founder It concludes with the name of the writer of the inscription and the date The style of writing is *Thulth* of an indifferent type and the language Persian I have deciphered the text as follows —

Plate XXVI (a)

Line 1 رمی البحر من بکلم کلام الدنيا فی المسجد حط عمله اربعين سنة

Line 2 آنکه ارحاں رد دل عالم اهل رفا نانی سدری مسعد نصا نده درگاه

Line 3 حالی الاکثر سند اسد امیر جعفر ۵ کنده العبد اراغدم نصر می تاریخ سبع ثلاثین

سعمائه ۹۳۷

TRANSLATION

"It is in the *Sayings of the Prophet*, 'Whoever talks of worldly affairs in a mosque loses the (recompence) of his good actions of forty years'

The builder of the sacred, Sunairī Masjid is the servant of the 'faithful' from his heart and soul He is the humble slave of the court of God Almighty, and his name is Sayyid Asad Amīr Jāfar Written by the humble, Ibrāhīm Nasr dated 937 H (1531 A D) "

The fourth inscription of the series is carved on a tablet which, according to the report of Mr Q M Moneer, is lying loose at the Kotla of Bāra Imām at Ahmadnagar The tablet is arch-shaped and measures 2 ft 6 in from side to side and 1 ft 3 in in height The inscription contains four lines of Persian verse and one of prose in the same language The style of writing is *Thulth*, but as the inscriptional tablet has been lying in a neglected condition for a considerable time the letters have decayed in several places My reading of the text is given below —

Plate XXVI (b)

ر آل مصطفی سدد حلال اسب در عالم درالحوال اسب

نشده های نکر سدراب نرزیس حو کشاید منم ادراپ

¹ عدن طيب means 'refreshing garden'

² The inscriptional tablet measures 3 ft 6 in by 2 ft 6 in

نگهدارش (۹) ر سال ے حد
 برای مومنان مسجد بنا کرد نه پہلوش برای خویش حاکم
 ر از عمرش

TRANSLATION

- (1) " Sayyid Jalāl is a descendant of the Prophet (hence) in both the worlds
 he is honoured
 (2) " the thirsty are replenished like the ocean by water as on his face God
 has written the solution of the difficulties of people
 (3) " Protect him for unnumerable years '
 (4) " He has built a mosque for the believer, and on one side of it (the mosque) he has
 set apart a place for himself
 (5) " And from his age "

Inscriptions 5 to 9 of the series are carved on *Shāh Sawār Ghāzī's* tomb at Ahmadnagar. They are arranged in the form of decorative bands on the sarcophagus of the tomb, and show exquisite workmanship. The texts of the inscriptions consist of religious quotations and Persian verses by famous poets including Jāmi. The inscriptions are in the *Thulth* as well as in the *Nast'liq* characters, exhibiting excellent penmanship. I have deciphered the texts as follows —

Inscription in Band A

Plate XXVI

در بنم حگر کرد روزی کتاب که منگب گونده نا زبان

دریعا که نما نسی روزگار^۱ نرید گل نشکد بوهار
 کسانى که ار ما نعیب اندرد نباید ر در خاک ما نگردند

حیف ار آن سرور فامب موزون حیف ار لطف آن گل [۱] زهار
 لا لها . . . ر درب او شررها سب آه آتش نار
 دور اور یک نعل نمگردد (۹) مرغ دلہای بفرار قرار
 شرح درد فراق نو . دہان بحروف و رۂ نسنہ نگار

¹ In the inscription روزگار has been spelt روزگار One ر is superfluous

Inscription on Shah Sawar Ghazi's tomb, Ahmadnagar

(a)



Inscription on Shah Sawar Ghazi's tomb, Ahmadnagar

(b)



TRANSLATION

“Two couplets, which a minstrel was singing, in accompaniment to the notes of the rebeck, roasted my heart on a (certain) day”

Couplets

- (1) ‘Alas without us for a long time,
‘The rose will blossom and the spring will bloom
(2) ‘Those who are in secrecy with us
“They will come and visit our remains”¹

(1) “What a pity (at the loss of) that stately cypress how woeful (to miss) the sweet company of that most lovely flower

(2) “Are the tulips growing (?) on his tomb or the flames of fiery sighs (of those) who have been bereaved

(3) “The birds of impatient hearts do not find solace even for a single moment when they are away from his company

(4) “To describe the pangs of separation is a task for the achievement of which the way is closed”

Inscription in Band B

Plate XXVIII

حفا رضى المصطفى امام الانس والجنه

على حنه حنه مسيم
الحنه

ناد علدا الح

آه ار حور حرج كم رفناز آه ار سور سنده افگار
آه ار دافع مرف حال سور آه ار درن دنده حور نار
رف ناگه ر رزمگاه جهان شهسوارى كه دوده سير سگار
سر ورس احل مگد ر باى گل ورس نكاك ره سد حار

TRANSLATION

‘In truth (‘Ali) is the executor of Mustafas (Muhammad s) will he is the prince of men and genn ‘Ali’s love is a shield, he is the distributor in Paradise”

¹ These couplets are also inscribed on the tomb of ‘Ali Barid at Bidar See *Annual Report*, A S I, 1914-15, pp 147 48

After the above text is the *Vāu* 'Al and four Persian couplets—

(1) "Woe be to the cruelty of the unprincipled sky, woe to the burning pain of the wounded bosom,

(2) "Woe be to the scar (inflicted) by the soul burning separation—woe to the pain of the blood shedding eyes

(3) He (*Shāh Sīwar* (*Shīzī*), departed from the battle field of the world all of a sudden he was an expert rider who hunted tigers

(4) "Death knocked down the express of his stately stature—his rose like face when laid in earth lost its beauty (It became thorny)"

Inscriptions in Bands C and D

Plate XXIX

The Throne verse (*Qur'ān*, Ch. II, verse 256) and the *Shiite durūd* :

Inscription in Band E

إلغا لله الحكيم لله

ای کہ در نماز گدیری دامن کشان ار سر احلاص الحمدے نخوان

TRANSLATION

The authority is for God—the eternity is for God

"One who passes us—trailing his shirt—offer a prayer with a sincere heart"

The tenth inscription of Ahmadnagar is carved on *Shāhrūj* in Darwāza and it belongs to the reign of Aurangzeb. The inscription records the building of a well by one 'Abdu'r Rahmān⁽²⁾. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* and the language Persian³. I have deciphered the text as follows—

Plate XXX (a)

[لا إله إلا الله محمد [رسول الله]

در عهد شامشاه عادل [ل]

اورنگزیب عالم گنر نادرشاه عاری

نابی این چاه عمد الر

TRANSLATION

'There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God

"During the reign of the just king Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr, the victorious king, the builder of this well was 'Abdu'r Rahmān⁽²⁾"

¹ کم رنآو , literally means 'going away'

² For the text of the *Shiite durūd* see *E. I. M.*, 1915-16, pp. 26-27

³ The inscriptional tablet measures 2 ft. by 1 ft. 9 in.

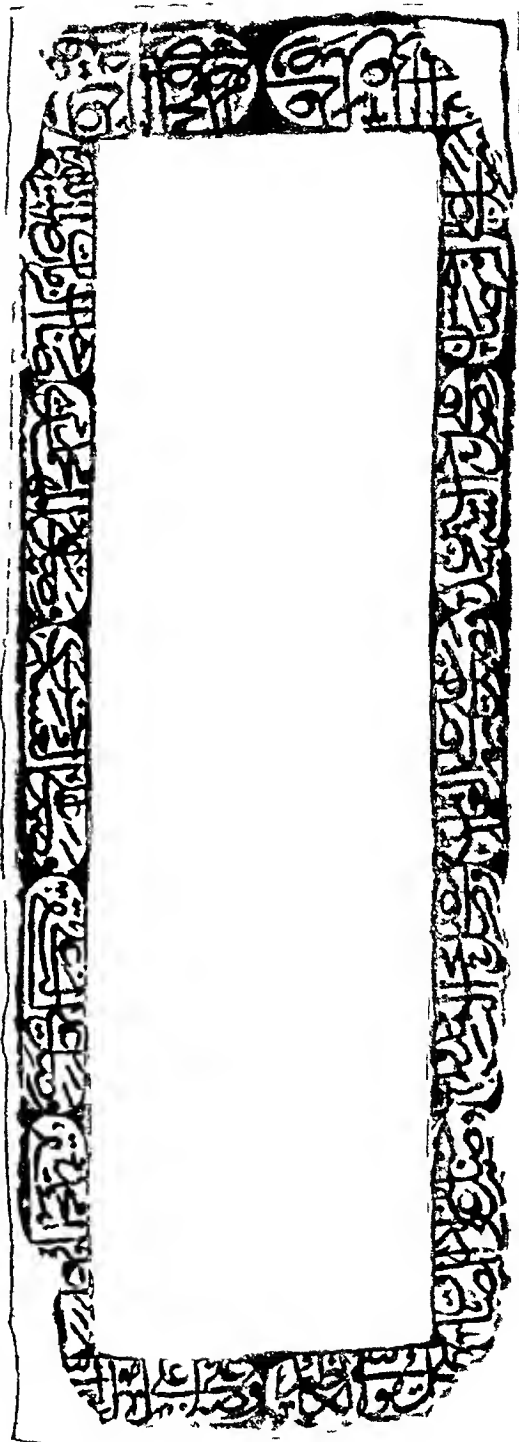
Inscriptions on the tomb of Shah Sawar Ghazi, Ahmadnagar

(c)

(d)



Scale 142



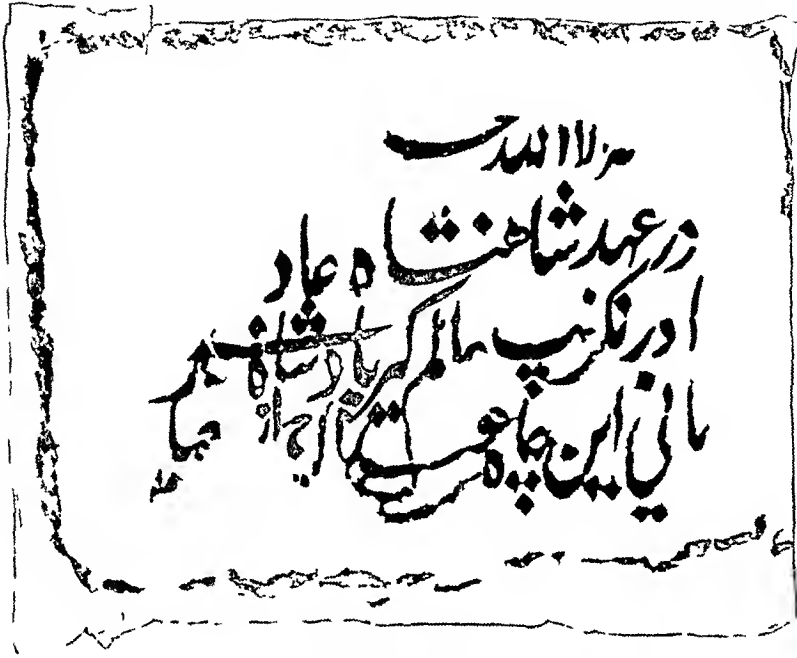
Scale 166

(e)



Scale 166

(a) On the arch of a well Shahraj-ka-Darwaza, Ahmadnagar



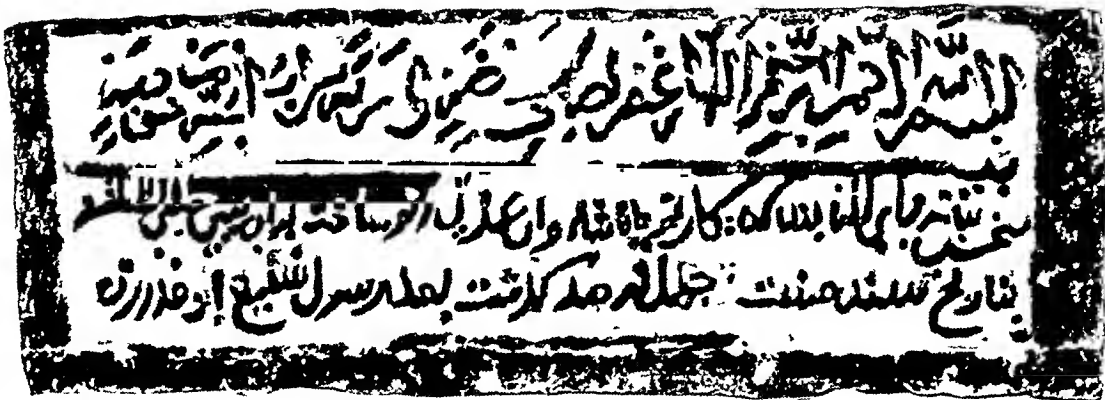
Scale 142

(b) On the Kharvandi Gate, Ahmadnagar



Scale 142

(c) Inscription from the Rauza Bagh, Ahmadnagar



Scale 25

The eleventh inscription of the series is carved on the Kharwandī Gate at Ahmadnagar, and consists of three lines of Persian prose written in a very crude style, the characters are *Nasḥī*. The inscriptional tablet measures 3 ft 9 in by 1 ft 3 in. I have deciphered the text as follows —

Plate XXX (b)

Line 1	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله محمد على مرتضى (sic)
Line 2	هر که آمد عمارت نو ساحتی ساخت منزل نده کمترین رما صنعی
Line 3	سلطان نعم شاه وقت (sic) از عمارت سد نارنج ماهی (sic) رمضان

TRANSLATION

“ In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate
In the name of Allāh, Muhammad and ‘Alī Murtaza
Whoever comes (to this world) builds a new structure
This house was built by the humblest, Rīza Sūfī
“ May the king during whose reign this building has been constructed, remain happy in the month of Ramazān ”

The twelfth inscription of the series is from the Rauza Bāgh, wherein the tomb of the first Nizām Shāhī king, Ahmad I (1490-1508) is built.¹ The inscription consists of three lines, the first line contains a religious text and the second and third record the construction of some sacred shrine in the year 947. The style of writing being most crude, the decipherment of the inscription with certainty is difficult.² The language of the last two lines of the inscription is Persian. I have deciphered some portions of the text as follows —

Plate XXX (c)

Line 1	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم اعف الذنب
Line 2	مسجد بنا سد برای الله نده کار نوساخته برای نسی
Line 3	نارنج سده شعب چهل نه صد گدسب بعد رسول سعید

TRANSLATION

“ O God, pardon the sins built the mosque (?) dated, 947 years after the Prophet, the intercessor ”

947 H correspond to 1540 A D

The thirteenth inscription of Ahmadnagar is carved on a bastion of the Fort. It is a typical example of the *Tughra* style of writing, the text being arranged in the form of a tiger. The effigies

¹ For further particulars regarding the Rauza Bāgh see *E I M*, 1933-34 (Supplement), p. 8

² The inscriptional tablet measures 2 ft by 9 in

of the tiger, as an emblem of security against disaster, are freely carved on the Deccan forts which were extensively rebuilt in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the Muslim kings of the Shute faith. The title **اسد الله** 'the tiger of God', borne by 'Ali, the son in law of the Prophet Muhammad, evidently has stirred up the imagination for carving such figures. The present calligraphic device also has been carved on the bastion for its protection against disaster through the spiritual grace of 'Ali. The writing above the figure of the tiger contains a religious text and a quotation from the *Qur'ān* (Chap. 12, verse 64). The text arranged in the form of the tiger is the *Nādh* 'Ali, an invocation for help to 'Ali (Plate XXXIa).

XIV-VIII—Inscriptions from the Satara District

Two inscriptions of this group are from the Jāmi' Masjid at Karad in the Satara District,¹ several inscriptions of which have been studied by Dr. M. Nazim in the last issue of *E I M*. One of these two inscriptions is carved on an arch of the mosque and consists of two Persian verses. The style of writing is *Thulūth* of an indifferent type. I have deciphered the text as follows:—

Plate XXXI (b)

الله

ای دل ناگه مرده امس و امان رسد که رب طهور حضرت صاحب الزمان رسد

سجود خانه کعبه از آن شد بر همه راحب که آنجا در رجوع آمد علی بن ابی طالب

علیه السلام

TRANSLATION

Allāh

(1) 'O my heart, the happy tidings of peace and safety have come all of a sudden, for the time of the appearance of His Holiness the Lord of the Universe (Muhammad) has arrived.'

(2) "To prostrate at the Ka'ba has become compulsory for this reason that 'Ali the son of Abū Tālib (may peace be upon him) was born there."

The other inscription from the Jāmi' Masjid at Karad is carved on a pillar. It contains a *Qur'ānic* text (Chap. LXXII, verse 18) and the name of the writer of the inscription which is—

الحسنی . کعبه محمد . (Plate XXXIIa)

The third inscription from Karad is carved on the tomb of a lady whose name—**نور بی بی**—is given in the inscription. The style of writing is *Nastāliq* and I have deciphered the text as follows:—

Plate XXXII (b)

رباب نامتن نور بی بی

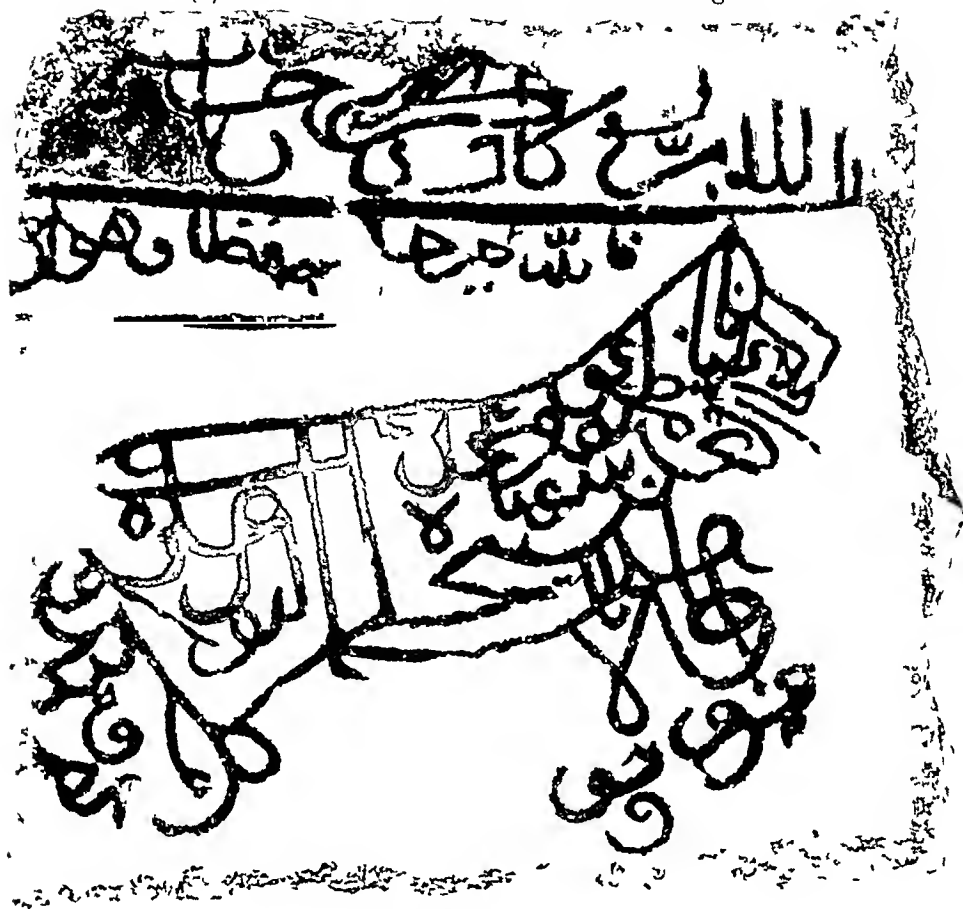
در کرعر

صفر

ثمان سن و تسعمایه

¹ For a description of this building, see *E I M*, 1933-34 (Supplement), p. 71.

(a) On a bastion in the fort at Ahmadnagar



Scale 166

(b) On an arch, Jamī Masjid, Karad, Satara



Scale 142

(a) On a pillar of the Jami' Masjid Karad Satara



Scale 2

(b) On a tomb at Karad Satara



Scale 25

(c) On a tomb at Karad, Satara



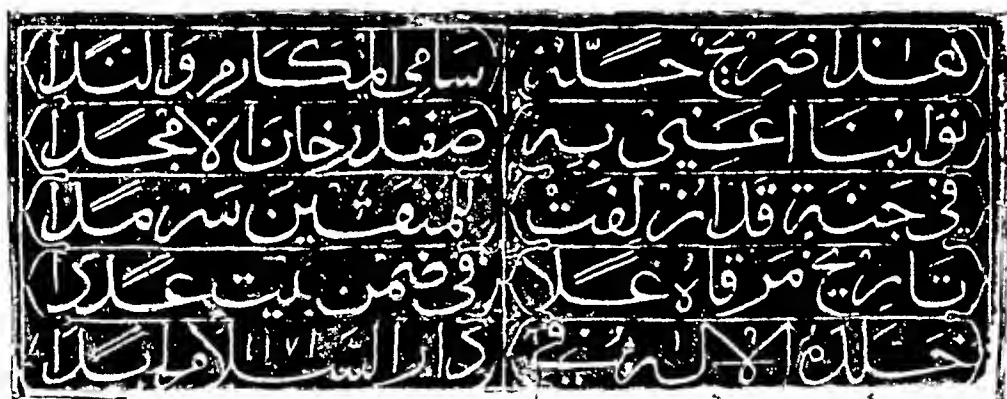
Scale 100

(a) On a mosque in Kadigaon, Satara District



Scale 25

(b) On a tomb near Bhagal Baria Gate, Surat



Scale 2

(c) On another tomb in the same locality



Scale 2

TRANSLATION

Nūr Bibī died at Karhar (Karad) in the month of Safar 98 H”

The fourth inscription from Karad is carved on a tomb in the compound of the ‘Idgāh there. Two other inscriptions of this style from the same locality have been studied by Dr M. Nazim in the last issue of the *E I M* (1933-34, Supplement, pp 53-54). The present inscription contains a prayer, mentioning the names of the Prophet and the twelve Imāms, for the blessing of the soul of the deceased, and a Persian verse—

Plate XXXII (c)

یاران و عزیزان سر خاک من آیند

و از خاک نرسند نشان اثر من

۲۱۰۷۹

TRANSLATION

Friends and relatives will come to visit my remains

And enquire of my remains the trace of my existence¹ 1075 H” (1664 A.D.)

This inscription also contains some beautiful *Tughra* devices in which the name of ‘Alī has been repeated four times²

The fifth inscription of Satara is from a mosque at Kadgaon. It contains the names of Allāh, Muḥammad, ‘Alī and Saʿyid ‘Abdu’l Qādir (Plate XXXIIIa), the last being the great saint of this name of Baghdad.

XIX-XX—Inscriptions from Surat

Both of these inscriptions are on tombs in the vicinity of the Bhagal Barya (or Bhagal Būya) Gate at Surat. They contain Arabic verses, mentioning the names of the deceased and the years of their demise. The style of writing of both the inscriptions is *Thulth*, of a pleasant character. I have deciphered the texts as follows—

Plate XXXIII (b)

(1) هدا صرحم حله سامی المکارم و الددا

(2) روانا اعدی ده صعدر حان الامتداد

(3) می حده قد اربع للمنعس سرمددا

(4) تاریخ مرقاه علا می صمن بیت عدددا

۱۱۷۱

(5) حلدۀ الاله می دارالسلام اددا

¹ This well known verse by ‘Attār is also carved on ‘Alī Burīd’s tomb at Bidar. See *Annual Report*, A. S. I., 1914-15, p. 147.

² The inscriptional slab measures 4 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 6 in.

TRANSLATION

- (1) "This grave is the resting place of one of noble attributes and benevolence,
 (2) "I mean, our Navvab, Safdar Khān, the virtuous
 (3) " (He has been placed) in Paradise which has been fitted for the permanent abode of the pious
 (4) "The date of his rising to heaven in the form of a chronogram
 (5) "May God keep him in the abode of bliss till eternity 1171 H" (1578 A D) ¹

Plate XXXIII (c)

- (1) رحلت لأحر ساعه يوم جمعه
 لثني عشر ربيع ثاني احده
 (2) رعمري كعمر الهاشمي * احمد
 غدياً لى اليسرى رها انا رفره
 (3) وقال لسان العفو عني مغزها
 اعدا لى سكن مصر الدعوم بعده
 ٥١٢٢٧

TRANSLATION

- (1) "The beloved lady departed from this world in the last hours of Friday the 12th of Rabi' II (1227 H)
 (2) "And the length of my (the lady's) life is like that of Muhammad al Hashimī this tidings is welcome to me, and lo, my name is Zuhra
 (3) "And the tongue of Divine Mercy uttered a chronogram about the date of my demise
 'I am directed to settle in the palace of bliss in Paradise' 1227 H" (1812 A D)

XXI-II—Two inscriptions from Broach

One of these inscriptions is carved on the tomb of Imādul Mulk who played an important role in the history of Gujarat during the short reigns of the three imbecile successors of Bahādur Shāh². The inscription also mentions the name of his ambitious son Chingiz Khān who in the beginning of the reign of Muzaffar Shāh III, held the governorship of the province of Surat and the districts of Nandot and Champaṇer, but later assumed such powers as to take possession of the capital. He was ultimately murdered in a game of polo by two royal officers, Hijāz Khān and Ulugh Khān³.

The inscription is a fine specimen of the *Tughra* style of writing and is arranged in five panels⁴. The text in the top of two panels consists of a quotation from the *Qum ān* (Ch 3 verses 163-64). The inscription in the remaining three panels has been deciphered by me as follows —

Plate XXXIV (b)

- Panels 1-2 قال الله سبحانه وتعالى ولا تحسن الدين فلو انهم
 Panel 3 امر ببناء هذه الدفعة السريعة وحكم ناعلاء هذه المشيدين المددعة اللذي اربع الى
 رتبه الاربعين (٩) و قد كتب على الواقدى نانا معلما

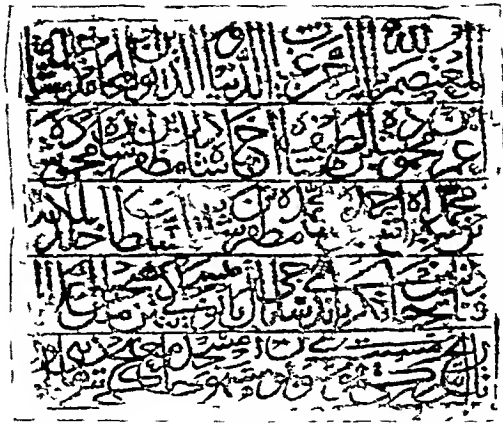
¹ The tablet on which this inscription is carved measures 2 ft 3 in by 1 ft

² The tablet on which this inscription is carved measures 2 ft by 9 in

³ Briggs, Vol IV, pp 142-53

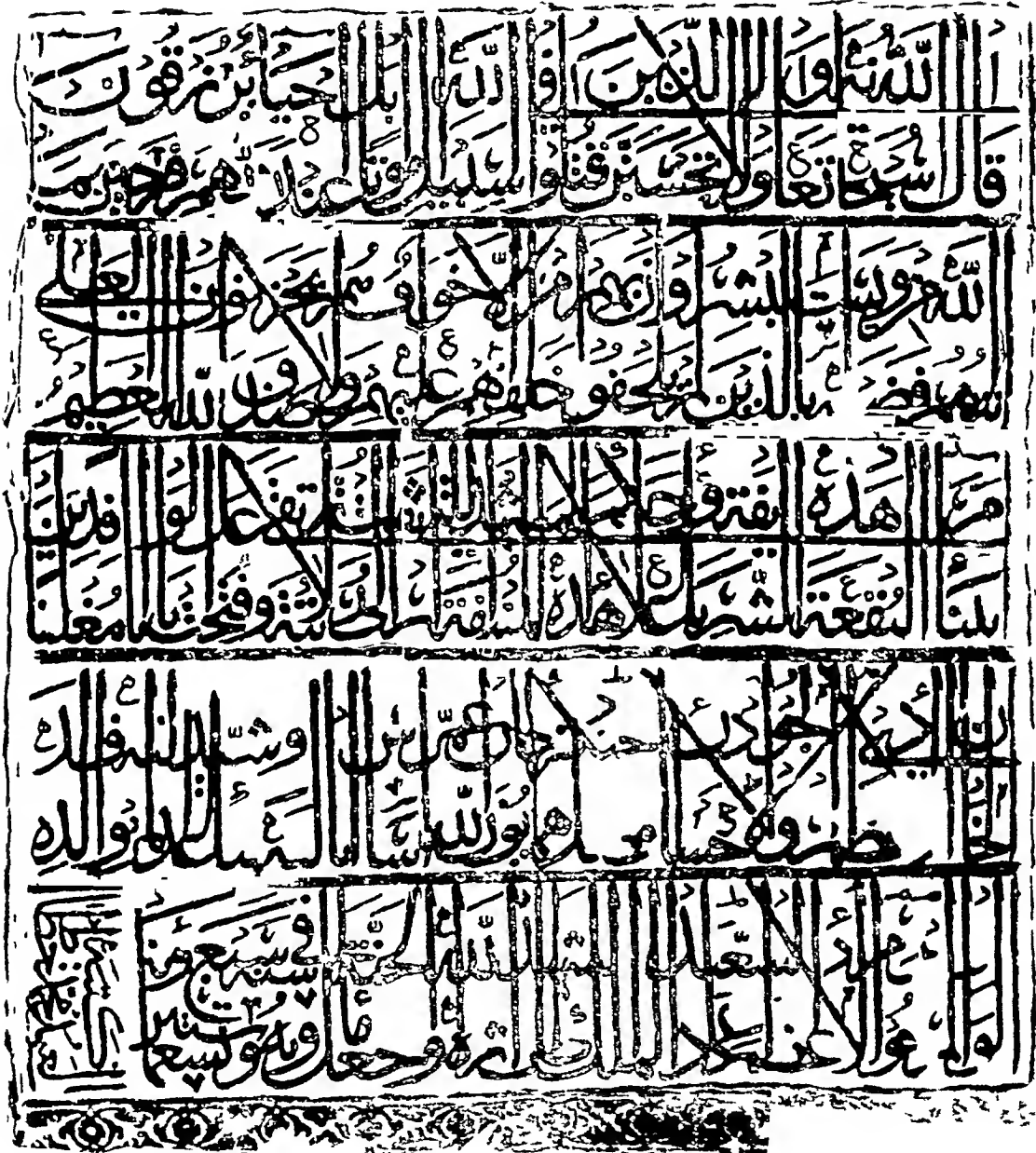
⁴ *Ibid*, pp 156-163

⁵ The total dimensions of the inscriptions are, length 4 ft 6 in and breadth 4 ft 3 in



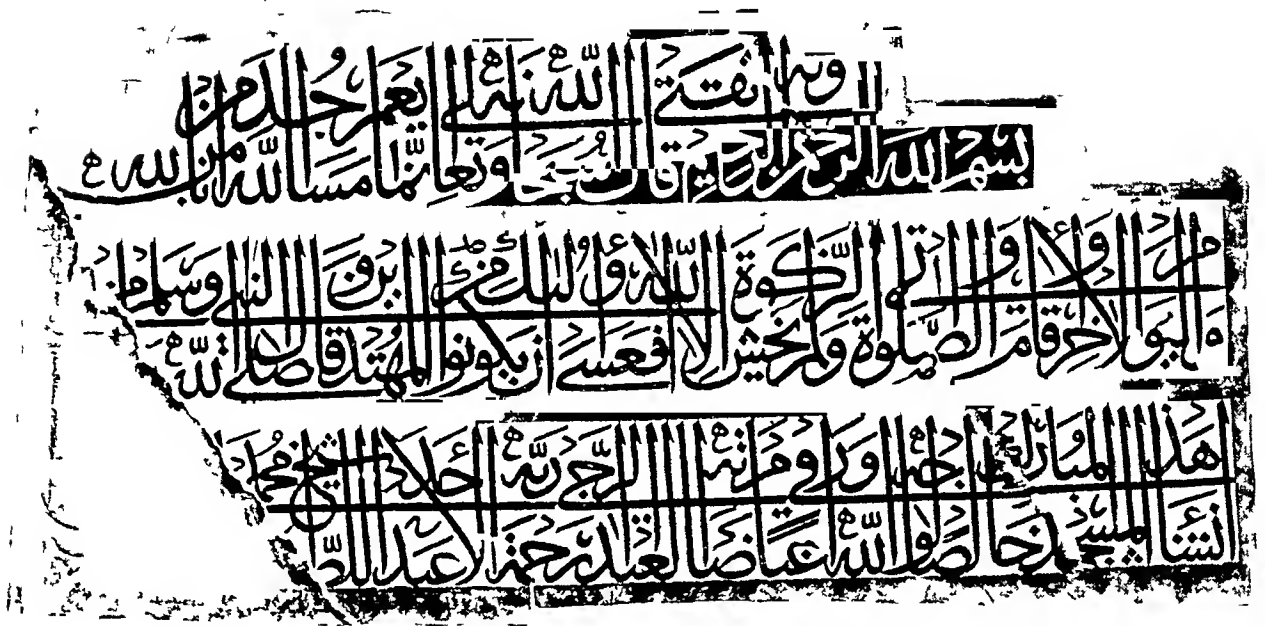
Scale 25

(b) On the tomb of 'Imadu'l-Mulk, Broach



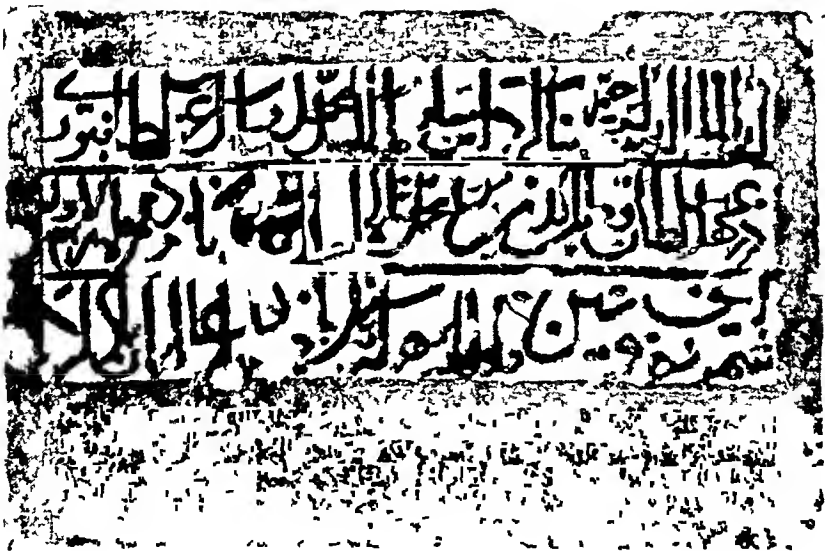
Scale 11

(a) On Mir Ghiyathu'd-Din's tomb, Broach



Scale 142

(b) Inscription in Rasul Khanji's Museum, Junagarh



Scale 25

Panel 4 الحان الاعظم دى الحرد و الاحسان مجلس (محل ٤) همانوں حدنگر خان
 عمر الله اساس انالنه و سدد بناء (بنائى ٤) عدالنه لمرد والدہ

Panel 5 المرحوم الاعظم السعد عماد الملك السعد طاب الله ثراه و جعل
 الحدة ماراه فى سده سبع و ستم و سعمایه ٥ كنه العدد محمد خطاط

TRANSLATION

Panels 1-2 “*Qur’ān*, Chap 3, verses 163 64

Panels 3 5 “The great *Khān*, the benevolent and generous, His Auspicious Highness *Chingiz Khān*—may God build the foundation of his government and strengthen the base of his administration—ordered the building of this sacred shrine and commanded the construction of this lofty tomb—which has risen to a noble height, and which has opened to visitors the closed doors (of the fulfilment of their desires)—over the grave of his father who has been taken into the mercy of God, the great, the noble ‘*Imādul-Mulk*, the martyr, may God sanctify his ashes and make Paradise his resting place’ In the year 967 H (1560 A D) Written by the servant, Muhammad, the calligraphist”

The second inscription of Broach is also a pleasing specimen of the *Thulth* style of writing and it records the construction of a mosque by one ‘Abdu’l-Latif Dr M Nazim has published another inscription of ‘Abdu’l-Latif, which according to the *Abjad* system gives the date 970 H and records the construction of a mosque¹ As both of these epigraphs are, at present, in the tomb of Mir *Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn* it appears that the mosque on which the tablets of these two inscriptions were originally fixed was either attached to Mir *Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn*’s tomb or stood in its vicinity The tablet of the present inscription measures 3 ft 9 in by 2 ft I have deciphered the text as follows —

Plate XXXV (a)

Lines 1-2 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و نه تعنى قال الله سبحانه و تعالى اما نعم مساعد الله الح
 Line 3 انشاء هذا المسجد المبارك حالما لوجه الله و راعيا فى مرضاه العدد الراحى رحمه
 به الاحد عدد اللطيف شيخ محمد

TRANSLATION

Lines 1-2 “The *bismilla* and a quotation from the *Qur’ān* (Chap IX, verse 18)

Line 3 “This auspicious mosque was built purely for God and with the view of obtaining His good will, by the humble (servant), solicitous for the mercy of God, the One, ‘Abdu’l Latif *Shāikh* Muhammad”

¹ *E I M*, 1933 34, Supplement, p 31, Pl XVIIIa

THE BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION OF QUTBU'D-DĪN KHALJĪ FROM THE RASUL
KHANJĪ MUSEUM, JUNAGARH

By G YADANI

The inked rubbings of this inscription were sent to me for the decipherment of the text by the Government Epigraphist some time ago. As it is a bilingual record I have deciphered only the Persian portion of it while the Sanskrit version has been deciphered and translated by Dr B Ch Chhabra, Assistant Epigraphist to the Government of India. The inscriptional tablet is preserved in the Rasul Khanji Museum at Junagarh, and it measures 1 ft 5 in by 1 ft approximately.

The Persian text is in the *Thulū* style of writing and consists of three lines. The inscription records the construction of a *mīnār* (tower) by Malik Sayyid Muhammad Mubārak Azz of Sultānpūr. The Sanskrit version mentions the town by the name Deopattan which was evidently the original name, Sultānpūr being given after the Muslim conquest. My reading of the Persian text is given below —

Plate XXXV (b)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بنا کرد این منار ملک سعد محمد مبارک عز سلطانپوری

(2) در عهد سلطان قطب الدین بن محمد شاه السلطان بناریم یاردهم ماه ربیع الاول

(3) . هر که . دانی را دعا ایمان داد کر [د] ☉

TRANSLATION

(1) " In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate

(2) " This *mīnār* (tower) was built by Malik Sayyid Muhammad Mubārak Azz of Sultānpūr, during the reign of Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn son of Muhammad Shāh, the Sultān, on the 11th of Rabi' I

(3) " Whoever offers a prayers for (the soundness of) the faith of builder "

Notes on the Sanskrit Version

By Dr B Ch CHHABRA

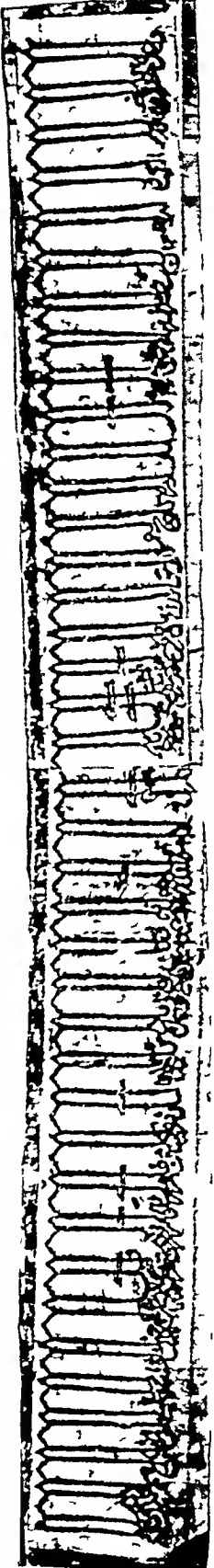
Just below the Persian inscription appears another inscription in Nāgarī, consisting of four lines and a quarter, in much smaller characters. Its purport is obviously the same as of the Persian epigraph, but it is too weather-worn to admit of a fair reading. From some pencil rubbings of it, I have been able to decipher portions of the first two lines which contain the date and the name of the ruling *Sulātāna*, followed by a succession of personal names each with the title of *Mahika*, as may be seen from the text and translation given below. From the rest of the record only some stray letters can be read, which do not yield a coherent sense. In l 3 probably a holy place (*tīrtha*) is referred to, while the following line apparently mentions a mason (*sūtradhāra*). The date seems to have been repeated at the end of the inscription.

The language of the record, so far as it can be judged from the deciphered portion, is incorrect Sanskrit. The Nāgarī script represented here is in agreement with the date and locality of the record.

The date, if it has been correctly deciphered, corresponds to Sunday 7th August, A D 1457 (Hijra 861)

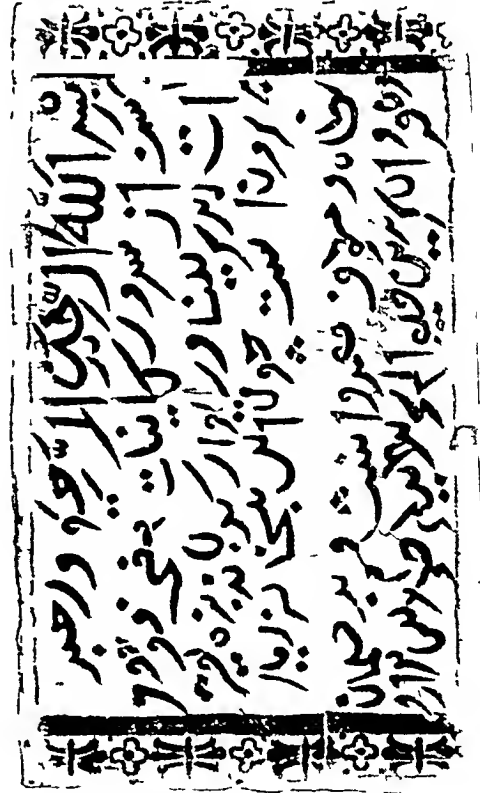
¹ The date is not clear in the inscription. Mubārak Khaljī reigned from 716 to 720 H

(a) On a mosque near a temple in the fort at Jalor

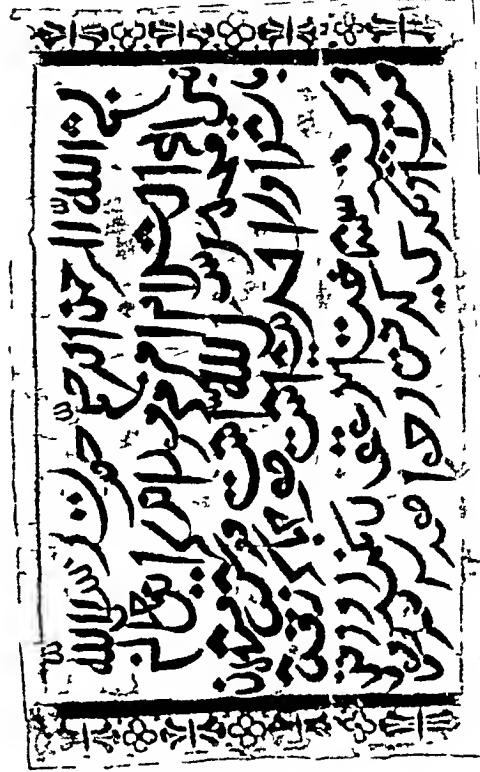


Scale 11

(b-c) Inscriptions from Dhum, Gwalior State



(b)



(c)

Scale 2

TEXT¹

1 Samvat 1514 barshē Śrāvana badī [2 rtha² Ravau] Sulatāna sri Kutabadīna-vijī rājē Śrī
 Dēvapātana-
 2 tah Sulatāna-[pahī³]Malika srih-Mubāra[ka su]ta Malika-sri Mahammada-suta-Malika
 śrī [Makada]
 3 jī ipatī vajēpa ā na ha punya tī a ī
 sha na ī bīrāsila
 4 ī lā sūtra[dha]ra sūya ī
 tta su la tī samvat
 5 [15]14 ba[r]sha

TRANSLATION

In the (*Viḷama*) year 1514, on Sunday, the 2nd day of the dark fortnight of (*the month of*)
 Śrāvana, during the victorious reign of the illustrious Sulatāna, Kutabadīna, from the glorious
 (*city of*) Dēvapātana the illustrious Malika[Makada], son of the illustrious Malika Mahammada,
 son of the illustrious Malika Mubāraka, Sulatāna pious [holy place]
 the mason the year [15] 14

INSCRIPTION OF MUBĀRAK SHĀH KHALJĪ FROM JALOR, JODHPUR STATE

BY G YAZDANI

Sometime ago Prof Commissariat of the Bahau'd-Din College, Junagadh, asked the Govern-
 ment Epigraphist for the decipherment of certain inscriptions of Jalor, in which the present
 inscription was also included. As the inscription is in Persian, Dr N P Chakravarti, the
 Government Epigraphist has referred the matter to me. The inscription consists of two pieces,
 which apparently belong to two different records, but the style of writing is identical, being
Tughra of an intricate type. It is therefore not unlikely that the two pieces may belong to the
 same inscription and the lack of connection between them may be due to some portions of the
 inscription being missing now. As the inked rubbing of this inscription is not very satisfactory
 I have been able to decipher only a few words of the text.

Plate XXXVI (a)

و حضرت بالینی امی و اله اجمعین و بنای این
 معلوم ملک تاج الدوله و الدین محمود
 ادام الله مملکته و عمر فرمای این مقام مندرک ندۀ کمر نصرت
 ملک نس محمود محمد حسن الملک السمسی الحامس من المعمر
 سنه ثمان عشر و سعمانه ☉

TRANSLATION

“ In the name of the Prophet, the illiterate and his progeny, all of them The build-
 ing of this shrine Malik Tājū'd Daulat wad Dīn Mahmūd. may God preserve his king-

¹ From the pencil rubbings² The portion within the square brackets is not very clear. The syllable *rtha* suggests that we should read 4 *rtha* which is not impossible. In that case, however, the date would be irregular.³ The reading of these two syllables is not certain.

dom till eternity and strengthen of this sacred place is the humble servant, Nusrat Beh, son of Mahmūd Muhammad Husain of the court of Sultān Shamsu'd Dīn Iltutmish. On the 5th Muharram 718 II (Thursday, 9th March, 1318 A D)”

According to the report of Prof Commisariat the tablet of this inscription is fixed on the wall of a mosque, near a temple at the Jalor Fort. But Amba Das Rao, the Meekame of my office, who was sent to Jalor to prepare another rubbing of this inscription could not trace it.

There were several *maliks* bearing the title Tājū'd Dīn during the reign of Mubārak Shāh Khaljī, but the *malik* of this title mentioned in the inscription is apparently the one who held the Deputy-governorship of the Gujarāt province.¹

AN OLD URDU INSCRIPTION OF AHMAD SHĀH II OF GUJARĀT

By G YAZDANI

Two years ago, Maulana Abdul Haq Sahib, D Litt, Head of the Urdu Department, Osmania University, kindly gave me the inked rubbing of an inscription which he had discovered at Raikhad² in the suburbs of Gujarāt. The Maulana Sahib was interested in the inscription, as it contains two couplets in the Hindustani language of the sixteenth century. He has recently read a paper on the inscription before the Hindustani Academy of Allahabad and published it in the *Urdu* of April, 1938.

The inscription, apart from its linguistic interest, is of extreme importance on account of its artistic and historic significance, for it is written in *Thulth* style of a very beautiful type and contains the genealogy of Gujarāt kings. The genealogy commences with Ahmad Shāh II (1553-61), whose titles—المعتصم بالله الرحمن عاتق الدنيا, الدین ابوالمعتمد—the same as given on his coins³. In the inscription he is recorded as the cousin (السی عم) of Mahmūd Shāh III, son of Latif Shāh, son of Muzaffar II (1511-25 A D). Now according to the genealogy, given in the *Cambridge History of India*, Ahmad Shāh II, who ruled from 1553-61 A D, was the fifth in descent from Ahmad Shāh I (1411-42 A D), while Mahmūd Shāh III was the sixth in descent from Ahmad I, and consequently, according to *Cambridge History* Mahmūd Shāh III was the nephew of Ahmad Shāh II. But as in the *Cambridge History* the source from which the material for the genealogical table has been taken is not given, the table may not be considered as reliable. Nelson Wright in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*⁴ has also given a genealogical tree of the kings of Gujarāt, but that is still more inaccurate, for in it Ahmad Shāh of the inscription has been shown the son of Mahmūd III.

As the inscription was carved during the reign of Ahmad Shāh II (961-67 H), the information regarding his relationship to Mahmūd Shāh III, that is, he was the cousin (السی عم) of the latter, in the absence of any other contemporary record on the point seems to be correct. The genealogy from Muzaffar II upwards to Muzaffar I as given in the inscription is the same as shown in the genealogical table of the *Cambridge History*⁵.

¹ *Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhī* by Z. Barnī, Persian text (Bibl. Ind.), pp. 379-80.

² As at that time the correct name of the place where the inscription was discovered was not ascertained, the find place has been spelt Raikhad in the illustrative Plate XXXIVa.

³ Wright's *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. II, p. 238.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 225.

⁵ The words *سی عم* are engraved on the coins of Ahmad Shāh, but the numismatists up to now have left out the word *سی* and read only *عم*, thus considering Ahmad the son of Mahmūd and not his cousin. See *Catalogue of Gujarāt coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, p. X, Plate VIII (coin 718).

⁶ *History of India*, III, 711.

The inscription is carved on a small mosque situated in the compound of Shāh 'Alī Muhammad Jio Gām Dhanī's shrine. He is a saint of considerable repute, said to have died in 973 H (1566 A D). The saint was also a poet, and an anthology of his poems compiled by one of his disciples, is still extant in manuscript under the name ^۱حواضر اسرار اللہ.

Along with this inscription there are two more in the same mosque, one of which contains a quotation from the *Qur'ān* (Ch LXXII, verse 18), and the other the Islamic creed and the date 961 H which agrees with the date of the accession of Ahmad Shāh II given by the various historians. The text of the principal inscription has been deciphered as follows²—

Plate XXXIV(a)

المعتمد بالله الرحمن عاب الدنيا والدين ابوالمعتمد احمد شاه	Line 1
ابن عم محمود شاه بن لطف شاه اج بهادر شاه بن مطهر شاه بن محمود شاه	Line 2
بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمود شاه بن مطهر شاه السلطان حاکم ملکہ	Line 3
ما دینس بیچہ حاکم ناندھے ساحی نال	Line 4
نابر مسجد کے دینس ہیچیں ملک حلال	
نارنج اس مسجد کی شری سویوں مشہور	Line 5
مسجد جامع کے دینس دتی ہایا نی نور	
۹۶۳ھ	

TRANSLATION

“Relying on God, the Merciful, the refuge of the world and faith, Abu'l-Mahāmid Ahmad Shāh, cousin of Mahmūd Shāh, son of Latīf Shāh, brother of Bahādur Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultān, may God preserve his kingdom!”

Verse

“Considering the transitoriness of the world the Shāh-jī has fastened his pinions
 “The founder of this mosque is Malik Jalāl
 “The chronogram of this mosque is known thus
 “‘The divine light has shone forth in the assembly mosque’”
 963 H (1566 A D)

¹ For further information see the article in *Urdu* (April, 1938) by Maulana Abdul Haq Sahib

² The inscriptional tablet measures 1 ft by 10 in

SOME MOSLEM INSCRIPTIONS FROM GWALIOR STATE

BY RAM SINGH SAKSENA

The inscriptions given below belong to some very ancient sites of historical importance in the Gwalior State. They were originally noticed by the Gwalior Archaeological Department and are being edited by courtesy of the said Department.

1 —Inscription from Pawaya

Pawaya (25° 46' N, 78° 17' E) lies about thirty nine miles south of Gwalior by road, or about thirteen miles from Station Dabra on the G I P Ry. This village is situated in the fork of the rivers Sindh and Parvati, on the visible ruins of an older city which has been identified with *Padmavati*¹—the beautiful capital city of one of the Nagā kings who ruled this part of the country in the 3rd and 4th centuries A D. Padmavati forms the principal scene of action of the famous Sanskrit drama the *Malti Madhava*² which contains a vivid and graphic description of the city. Almost all the geographical and other statements about the city mentioned in the play are true to this day and constitute living evidence of the antiquity of the city and the relics with which the site abounds.

The old royal road from Delhi to the Deccan, touching Gwalior and Narwar, passed very close to this place and for this reason Pawaya did not escape the notice of the Muslims too. Consequently, Pawaya, among its ruins, includes the vestiges of a fort and a few tombs as well, which trace the Muslim connection with the place. The fort is picturesquely situated just at the confluence of the two rivers encircling the village and commands good scenery besides serving as a means of natural defence. Though the fort is said to date from a line of the *Parmara*³ kings of the 10th century A D, the present vestiges of the fort do not go back earlier than the fifteenth century A D, and this inscription refers to the construction of the fort as shown below.

The inscription lay buried beside a cart tract at the northern end of the village with one of its corners exposed. On digging out, what at first appeared to be an ordinary piece of stone blocking the track, turned out to be an inscriptional slab. The inscribed portion measures 19½" × 14½" with a chamfered margin 1½" wide, and consists of ten lines of which nine are in verse⁴. The language used is Persian and the style of writing is *Nasikh*. The epigraph is the poetic chronicle of the Fort of Iskandarabād, founded in A H 911 (A D 1505) by order of the minister Safdar Khan⁵ during the reign of King Iskandar⁶. Although the name of the place given in the inscription is Iskandarabād (Sikandarabād), yet the fact of its being found at Pawaya and the absence of any other Muslim centre bearing the name Sikandarabād in the vicinity establishes beyond doubt that Iskandarabād of the inscription is none other than Pawaya. Also the fort mentioned in the inscription is presumably the ruined fort of this very village. It is very well known in history that the King Sikandar Lodī of Delhi was personally in camp for the conquest of the fort of Narwar⁷ about the year given in the inscription, and it is probable that he may have visited this place on one of his

¹ *See Survey of India Reports*, 1915-16, pp 101-109

² A famous work of the renowned Sanskrit poet Bhavabhūti

³ *Vide the Vishva Bharat* (Hindi, Monthly Calcutta), Vol I, pp 99-102 January 1929 (= v s 1985)

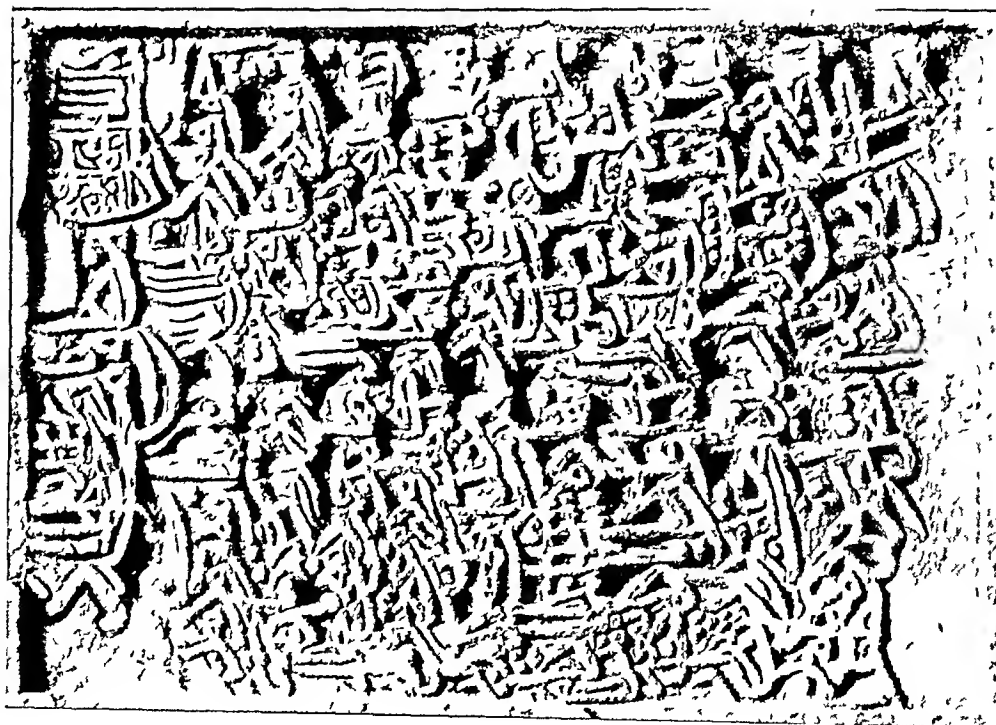
⁴ The metre of verse is *Mutagārib Muthamman*

⁵ Not yet traced in the records at my disposal

⁶ Refers to Sikandar Shāh Lodī of Delhi (1488-1518 A D)

⁷ *E M H*, IV, 466, *B F I*, 581

(a) Inscription from Pawaya, Gwalior State



(b) Inscription on the tomb of Muhammad
Ghauth, Gwalior



marches, as it is situated near the royal road, and having been charmed by this imposing scenery and site may have expressed the desire to build a fort at this place, and Safdar Khān, who presumably accompanied the king or was his Viceroy in this part of the country, got his master's wishes materialised and named the place and the fort Iskandarabād after the King Sikandar Shāh Lodī. The new appellation, however, appears to have failed to be popular as is apparent from the fact that the place continues to be designated Pawaya to this day.

My reading of the text is as given below —

Plate XXXVII(a)

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) نسم الله الرحمن الرحيم | منطومه تاريخ حصار اسکندر آباد |
| (2) حرموده خان ال دالر (۶) | دنا بروری دندر (۶) |
| (3) نمروده خان مرج سرسب | در روز شنه بهادند حبش |
| (4) رنه صدروز د شش و پنج سال | نماه رجب در صمن (۶) نا حلال |
| (5) نه عهد سه اسکندر کامگار | که هسب از درین عصر دس نامدار |
| (6) نمرودش صدر خان وزیر | موسب شد انس قلعه دل بدور |
| (7) چو شد ساحنه حمله سازش تمام | بهاده سد اسکندر آباد نام |
| (8) حدانا نو این نانی قلعه را | که از کرد آباد این نفعه را |
| (9) نسی بر سر خلق پاینده دار | دندنا ر ععنی مودس برآر |
| (10) بهر حا که از می بهد حرد قدم | نصل حودش ده طغر دم دم |

TRANSLATION

- (1) "In the name of God, the Kind and the Merciful
Versified Chronicle of the Fort of Iskandarabād "
- (2) "When the gallant Khān ordered (2)
The construction of the Fort with great despatch (2) "
- (3) "In compliance with the wishes of the Khān of noble descent,
[The foundation] brick was laid on Saturday "
- (4) "Nine hundred, enhanced by six and five (eleven) was the year (911 H)
In the month of Rajab of glory "
- (5) "During the reign of Iskandar the successful (Sikandar Shāh Lodī)
Who is the renowned (ruler) of these times "
- (6) "Under instructions of Safdar Khān, the vazir
This heart-captivating fort was designed "
- (7) "And when (the fort was) completed in all details
It was named Iskandarabād "
- (8) "O God! may the founder of the Fort
Who caused this tract to prosper "

- (9) "Ever remain over the head of the universe
And may God fulfil his desires in this and the next world "
- (10) "Wheresoever he may set his steps
Thy clemency grant him victory at every moment "

2.—Inscriptions from Dhūm

Dhūm (25° 46' N, 78° 18' E), being in the close vicinity of Pawaya, is generally known in the locality as Dhūm-Pawaya, and lies about two miles west of Pawaya. The village of Dhūm also called Dhamesvarī, is merely an hamlet famous in this part of country for a roaring water-fall¹ and a temple dedicated to Siva.

There are two inscriptions in this temple. The inscribed portion in both the inscriptions measures 16" × 11". Each inscription consists of six irregularly written lines in crude *Nasta'liq* characters. The language is Persian.

The inscriptions record neither any date, nor name of any ruler or place and their epigraphical significance can hardly be said to be great but their subject matter though not fully intelligible is interesting, as it presents a unique example of veneration and toleration of a Hindu place of worship by the Muhammadans. That the inscriptions are contemporaneous and belong to this temple is clear from their being properly set up in the temple and from their containing a reference to the temple.²

Both the inscriptions contain a sort of Imperial mandate³ enjoining the Muhammadans to guard against contumelious behaviour towards the temple, it being the place of pilgrimage of the Hindus.^[2]

These records, thus, lend support to the tradition ascribing the building of the temple to Raja Birsumha Deo of Orchha. It is evident from history that this Raja has found special favor with the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr, having cleared the Emperor's way by killing Abu'l-Fazl.⁴ And it is no wonder if the Raja may have obtained this Royal Decree for the protection of the shrine.

The text of the inscriptions which has been partially deciphered by me is given below —

Plate XXXVI (b)

- (1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم در حدر
(2) اسب ار سرور کائنات [ر] معتر موحود
(3) اب
(4) اسب حور این نیکانه زیار
(5) نگاه و مطرب هندوانس و مسلمان
(6) و هندوان که

¹ This water fall is also mentioned in the *Mālī Madhava*

² Inscription No I, lines 4 and 5

³ *I H Q* Calcutta, 1931, Vol VII, pp 55 56 Cf Bhilsa inscription prohibiting *Begar*.

⁴ *Modern Review*, March 1929. The place where Abu'l Fazl fell lies about 15 miles to the south of Dhūm.

TRANSLATION

- (1) "In the name of God, the Kind, the Merciful it is ordained
 (2) "From the Lord of Universe (and) Pride of Creation
 (3) "
 (4) " Since this temple is a place
 (5) "Of pilgrimage and adoration (for) the Hindus, (it is an) oath to Muhammadans
 (6) "And Hindus that "

Plate XXXVI (c)

- (1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ حَضْرَتِ رَسُولِ (ﷺ) اللَّهُ
 (2) نَبِيِّ عَلَيْنَا السَّلَامِ (ﷺ) أَمْرٌ مَوْجُودٌ كَهَ إِسْنِ حَائِهِ¹
 (3) مُحَمَّدِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ إِنْ هَرَكْسَ كَهَ مُسْلِمَانِ
 (4) نَأْتِدُ أَوْ رَا حَدِيثَ إِنْ هَرَا كَهَ نَعِشِ
 (5) وَ كَشَدَّ سَاحِبِ إِسْنِ نَكْدِ
 (6) كَرَفَنَارِ حَوَاهِدِ شَدَّ .

TRANSLATION

- (1) "In the name of God, the Kind, the Merciful His Holiness
 (2) "Prophet of God, the revered (He) has ordered 'that this house
 (3) "Is of Muhammad the prophet of God' (and it)
 (4) "Is ordained hereby that wherever (in the temple²) is carving, etc
 (5) "The signs (cf carving) should not be effaced
 (6) " "

3 —Inscription from Gwalior

Although Gwalior is generally known as the capital of the premier native state of that name in Central India, yet in fact the official and residential seat of Maharaja Scindia is at Lashkar, a modern city about two miles south of the ancient city of Gwalior. Similarly the area housing the British Residency and the State Militia forms another town by itself called Morar, and lies about two miles east of Gwalior or about four miles to the north-east of Lashkar. These three towns are, however, popularly represented under the common name, Gwalior.

¹ According to present writing it means 'House of Muhammad the Prophet of God'. But it seems that some mistake has been made in transferring the composition to stone by writer or engraver. It will perhaps be more appropriate if the lines 2 and 3 of the inscription be read as under —

" نَبِيِّ مُحَمَّدِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامِ أَمْرٌ مَوْجُودٌ كَهَ إِسْنِ حَائِهِ اللَّهُ إِنْ هَرَكْسَ كَهَ مُسْلِمَانِ
 which will mean that this (temple) is the House of God instead of House of Muhammad, etc., as at present

The following inscription hails from the historic city of Gwalior¹ and belongs to the mausoleum of a well-known saint Hazrat Muhammad Ghauth,² which stands in the east part of the town. The mausoleum was built by order of Akbar the Great and is a very fine example of the blend of Mughal and Rājput architecture possessing as it does some of the most exquisite panels of stone tracery. This 16th century edifice, being one of the important archaeological monuments, has been widely noticed by scholars both old and new, but the inscription does not appear either to have been published or even noticed so far. This record has recently been discovered by the State Archaeological Department and is being edited from a photograph of the same by courtesy of the Department.

The shrine of Muhammad Ghauth although a majestic edifice, has no inscription on it concerning itself. The present epigraph, which is a sort of pilgrim's record only, consists of six lines written in *Nastā'liq* characters. Of these, the two top lines are in Arabic prose, the two central ones constitute a couplet in Persian, while the last two lines are in Persian prose. The inscription does not mention the name of a king or the occasion for its engraving.³ The only information worth noticing in the record is the name and birth-place of a master calligraphist Muhammad Mā'sūm of Akbar's court who accompanied the Great Mughal in his excursions.

Muhammad Mā'sūm was a renowned calligraphist who has been mentioned casually in several modern works. From the *Ma'āthiru'l-Umara* we learn that his full name was Mir Muhammad Mā'sūm and poetical appellation Nāmī. He was the son of Sayyid Safā'ī of Tirmiz and was related on mother's side to Sayyid Sher of Sabzwār and died in 1015 H (1606 A.D.) at Bhakkar where he had probably settled.

The present inscription like many others is cut in an inconspicuous position on a pilaster (facing east) adjoining the south-west corner tower in the outer veranda of the mausoleum, where its view is further obstructed by the *jalī* panel fixed in the bay of the gallery. This accounts in some measure for its remaining unnoticed so far.

My reading of the text is given below —

Plate XXXVII(b)

- (1) می اکثر د [کرالم] وب
- (2) رمی می الدینا بالنسر
- (3) یکدم رگدشکل نکس یاد
- (4) و رفاعة روحشان نکس شاد
- (5) قایله و راقمه محمد معصوم النکرے

¹ For detailed account see *C S R*, Vol. III

² *Muntakhab ul Tauarikh* (Persian Text), pp. 46 and *E M H*, Vol. V, 200-287

³ According to the *A'in-i Akbari*, Akbar led an expedition for the conquest of the Deccan in 1599 A.D., and as usual Mir Mā'sūm accompanied his master. As Gwalior lay on the road to the Deccan, a halt must have been made at Gwalior which offered the calligraphist an opportunity to have this record engraved. It may have been engraved without the Emperor's knowledge.

¹ | • • ۸
 سـ مـ طـ نـ ا ر المـ مـ دـ لـ مـ صـ لـ سـ مـ ع
 ! • • ۷

TRANSLATION

- (1) "One who often talks of death (fears death),
 (2) "He is satisfied in this world

Verse

- (3) "Think for a while of the departed ones
 (4) "And by prayers please their souls
 (5) "Composed and written by Muhammad Mā'sūm of Bhakkar
 (6) "Which town he claims as his native place although his real home is Tirmiz, in the year
 1008 (=A D 1599)
 [1007=A D 1598 (?)]"

THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL

BY MAULAVI SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD, M A INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

1 —Inscription from Hatkhola

In 1921, Mr K N Dikshit then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, procured an estampage of an Arabic inscription from a place called Hatkhola, eighteen miles to the south of Karimganj Railway station in the district of Sylhet. On investigation it transpired that the stone tablet bearing the inscription was originally discovered about half a century ago at Anair Haor in the Bhanga sub division by a farmer while ploughing his land. It was subsequently removed to Hatkhola and fixed on the front wall of the local mosque.

The epigraph records the erection of a mosque by Khurshīd Khān in the reign of Bārbak Shāh, and is dated the 5th Safar, 868 H (19th October 1463 A D). The mosque to which the inscription refers must have existed somewhere not far from Anair Haor, but no trace of it could be traced at present.

The inscription is historically important as it throws some new light on the early expansion of Muslim rule in the north eastern border land by the independent kings of Bengal.

The interesting point to be noticed in the study of this inscription is that it is the earliest dated record that has ever been discovered in Sylhet the next dated record being that of Yūsuf Shāh which was found in the district by Dr J Wise and edited by Blochmann some sixty-four years ago in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*². On the evidence of the latter inscription and in the absence of any other positive historical source, it was generally believed that Sylhet came into

¹ The significance of this figure is still unsolved. I take it to be the engraver's mistake and am inclined to read it as 1007, i.e., the date of the record may be taken as A H 1007 1008 (=A D 1598 1599).

² *J A S B*, 1873, p 277

the possession of the Muslim rulers at a date not earlier than the reign of Yūsuf Shāh. The discovery of the present epigraph however establishes the fact that the tract was conquered by the Muslims at an earlier date and not unlikely in 786 H (1381 A D), during the reign of Sikandar Shāh, as suggested by Blochmann, by defeating Gaur Govinda the last king of Sylhet.¹

It is remarkable that Bārbak Shāh has been styled in the epigraph as 'Al Malik' as well as 'Sultān', as distinguished from the Trebem Inscription VII² in which he has former title only. Blochmann interpreted the term 'Malik' used in the latter record in the following words: "To judge from the Trebem inscription published by me in this journal for 1870, p 290, it would appear that Bārbak as prince was Governor of south western Bengal in 850, but the inscription styles him 'Malik' not 'Sultān', from which it is clear that he was no rebel."³ The above interpretation amounts, in so many words, to this, that a prince must rest content with the title of 'Malik' so long as he is not vested with sovereign power. The explanation however holds good only partially in the case of the present epigraph which styles Bārbak Shāh as 'Malik' and 'Sultān' alike, although he was *de facto* ruler of Bengal in 868 H when the inscription was written.

Another notable point to note here is that the blessing invocation *حک الله ملک* (may God perpetuate his kingdom) that generally follows the name of a reigning king on such occasions, is absent from this record.

The inscription is incised in relief on a stone tablet measuring across the carved face 12" x 27" and consists of one line. The language is Arabic. The style of writing is *Iughra* which lacks artistic beauty.

The text of the inscription as deciphered by me is as follows:—

Plate XXXVIII(a)

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجداً بنى الله
تعالى قصراً في الجنة في زمن الملك العادل
بارك شاه سلطان بن محمود شاه سلطان
بناء خان معظم حشده خان محتليان بوب عالي (ق)
في الخامس من شهر صفر سنة ثمان و سبعين و ثمانمائة

TRANSLATION

"The prophet has said, 'Whoever builds a mosque, God the Great builds for him a palace in heaven' (It is built) in the time of the just prince, Bārbak Shāh Sultān son of Mahmūd Shāh Sultān, by the exalted Khān Khurshīd Khān, the chief of the guard of the royal household, on the 5th of Safar, 868 H" (19th October 1463 A D)

2-3 —Inscriptions from Inchlabazar

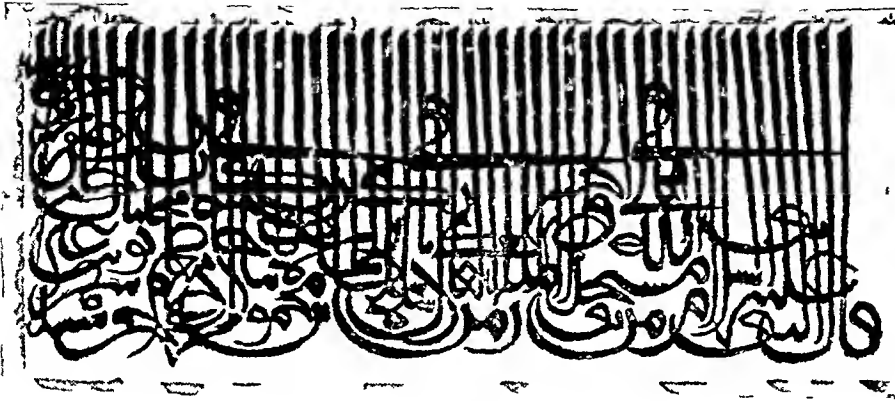
The stampages of two inscriptions that are being studied here were obtained by me, about a couple of years ago, from a ruined mosque at Inchlabazar in the district of Burdwan. The epigraphs record the construction of a mosque by one Sayyid Tāhīr in the time of Aurangzeb in 1115 H (1703 A D),

¹ J A S B, 1873, p 281

² Ibid, 1870, p 290

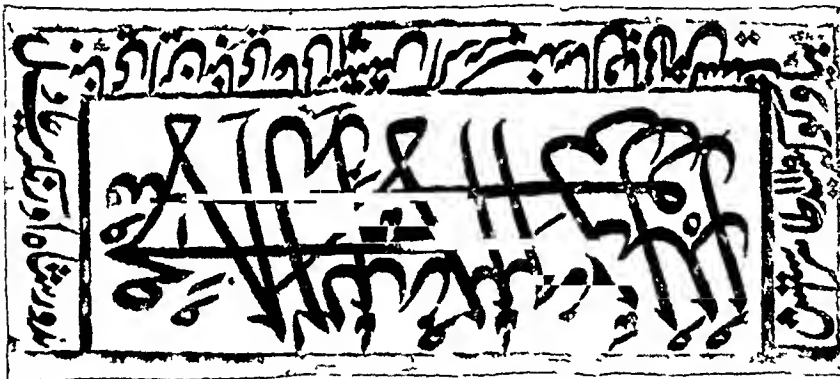
³ Ibid, 1873, p 272

(a) Inscription of Barbak Shah from Hatkhola, Sylhet District



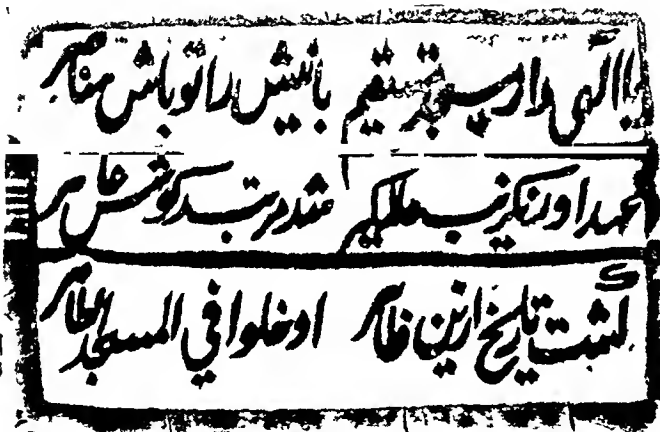
Scale 166

(b) On a ruined mosque at Inchla Bazar, Burdwan District



Scale 166

(c) Another inscription on the same mosque



Scale 2

Inchlabazar is a suburban town at a distance of about two miles to the east of the principal town of Burdwan which was once the residence of the famous Nūr Jahān, the royal consort of Jahāngīr. It is situated on the south bank of a narrow stream known as the Banka that flows through the city from west to east and divides it into southern and northern quarters. During the Mughal supremacy Inchlabazar seems to have been densely populated and was in a prosperous condition. There still stand innumerable shrines and sanctuaries which bear testimony to the extent of prosperity people had attained at that period. By the second half of the 19th century a virulent epidemic of fever broke out in Burdwan and carried off more than one-third of the population.¹ The malady had a sweeping effect on the Inchlabazar side of the town where now can be seen heaps of brick-bats and dilapidated houses overgrown with rich herbage.

One of the two slabs containing inscriptions has been fixed on the front wall of the mosque just above the arched entrance to the prayer hall while the other one is built in the outer face of the southern wall. The salient feature of the mosque is its peculiar form of curvilinear roof—a characteristic which is represented in the earlier architecture of Bengal. It is a square, rather low, brick structure of simple design with gently curving cornice. At each corner stands an octagonal pillar rising above the roof and terminating in a turret. The whole construction is surmounted by a single low dome. A similar type of architecture is to be seen in the notable *Eklakhī* tomb built at Pandua, Malda, over the remains of the proselyte King Jalālu'd-Dīn Muhammad Shāh of Bengal in the 15th century. This *Eklakhī* tomb is believed, as Sir John Marshall observes,² to have served as a prototype on which several mosques in Bengal were modelled in subsequent years and this Inchlabazar mosque may be counted as one of them.

The sanctuary is in a very deplorable state of preservation. The roof and the walls being covered with vegetable growth, several cracks have appeared in them. If it is allowed to remain for some years more in this condition its destruction is inevitable.

The two inscriptions are carved distinctly on separate slabs of black stone, measuring 25"×10" and 18"×11" respectively. The central panel of the inscription on the front wall is occupied by the *Kalīma* in bold *Naskh* characters, and the spaces on the right, left and bottom are covered with two couplets in Persian containing the name of the donor. The epigraph on the south wall, on the other hand, comprises of three lines in verse, each line being separated from the other by a horizontal band, and records the chronogram of the mosque. The language is Persian and the letters are written in *Nastā'liq* characters of excellent style.

My reading of the epigraphs is as follows —

2 —Inscription on the front wall

Plate XXXVIII(b)

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	Centre
دور ساه اورنگ رب عادل	Right
بنای اس بنای عالی اسدش - اگر پسند	Bottom
سال و نای اس کسب	
بنای و گو که سند طاهر اسدش ۱۱۱۵	Left

¹ *Bengal District Gazetteers, Burdwan*, p. 79

² *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 603

TRANSLATION

"There is no God but Allāh, Muhammad is His Prophet

"In the time of Shāh Aurangzeb, the just, the construction of this high building has been made. If any one enquires the date and its founder, say it is Sayyid Tāhir 1115 H (1703 A D)."

3 —Inscription on the south wall

Plate XXXVIII(c)

(1) يَا اَلٰهِي دَارِ مَسْجِدِ مَسْنَعِمِ نَابِيشْ رَا نَوَاسِ عَمْدَامِرِ
 (2) عَمْدِ اَوْرَنْگِ زِيْبِ عَالَمْگِیرِ سُدْ مَرْتَبِ رِ کُوشِشِ عَامِرِ
 (3) کُشْتِ تَارِدِمِ اَرِسِ طَاعِرِ اِنْدَحْلُوْا فِی الْمَسْجِدِ الطَّاعِرِ

TRANSLATION

"O God! Keep this mosque in perfect condition, and be helpful to its founder too. In the reign of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr, it has been completed through the efforts of the builder. Its date has become manifest from this (chronogram), اِنْدَحْلُوْا فِی الْمَسْجِدِ الطَّاعِرِ (enter the sacred mosque) "

It is to be noted here that the numerical value of the letter contained in the chronogram yields the date 1116 which corresponds with the date written in figures also, sideways in the inscription, whereas the former record has the date 1115 in figures only. The discrepancy may be explained by supposing that the epigraphs have been set up in the mosque at different times, the former being one year earlier than the latter or the mistake may have crept in through the oversight of the scribe.

A QUTB SHĪHĪ INSCRIPTION FROM PATANCHERU, MIDAK DISTRICT, HYDERABAD STATE.

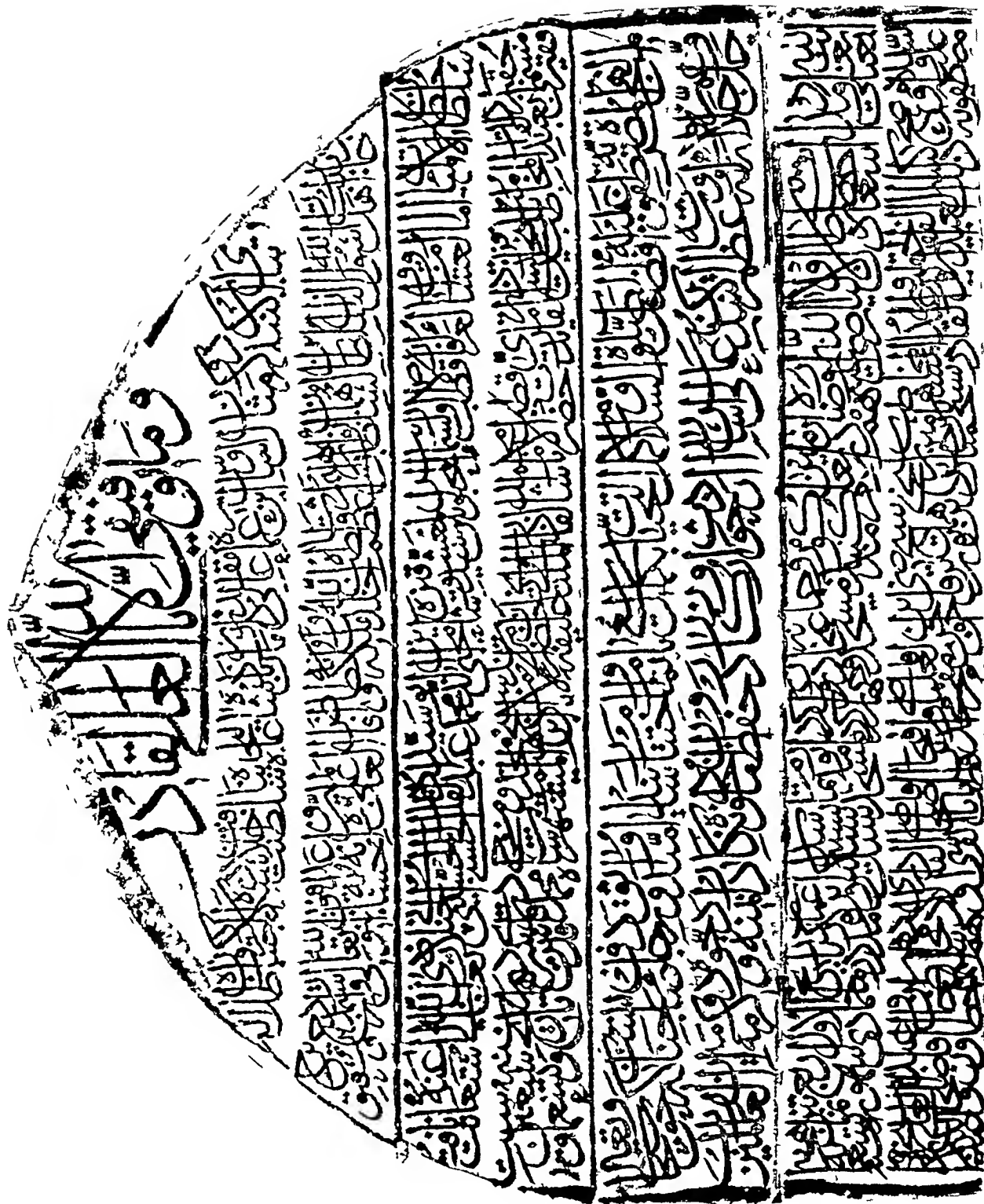
By G. YADAVI

Pataneheru is a *taluga* town in the Medak district of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominion. It is situated on the Hyderabad Bidar road, some twenty miles to the north of the former. In the tenth century A D. Pataneheru was an important centre of Jaina religion and the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, has found there by excavation a large number of Jaina sculpture of considerable beauty and iconological importance. These images are now exhibited in the Sculpture Gallery of the Hyderabad Museum. At Pataneheru there are also two domes, one of which bears an inscription on its southern gate.¹

The inscription records the building of a lofty vault by one Abdu'l Qādir entitled Amīn Khān,² during the reign of Sultan Ibrāhīm Qutb Shīh. The inscription also refers to an *mām* land and to a mosque with a prayer hall and enclosure, both apparently attached to the vault.

¹ The tomb bearing the inscription has a square base which measures 14 ft. square externally. The walls rise to a height of 37 ft. and above them the dome is built. The tomb has beautiful stucco work. Inside the dome there are five graves.

² Amīn Khān was a great patron of Telugu literature and Professor Subba Rao of the Osmania University is now engaged in publishing a Telugu poem dedicated to Amīn Khān. The poem consists of three thousand lines and it is said that the poet has not used a single Sanskrit word therein.



The inscription is carved on an arch shaped slab, measuring 5 ft 3 in at the base and 4 ft 6 in in height. The style of writing is *Thulth* of an intricate type and the language is Persian. I have deciphered the text as follows —

Plate XXXIX

وما يوفى إلا بالله العلى العادر

- Line 1
بنای این گنبد گردن مثال و اساس این عمارت عالی معمار در زمان نادرشاه
عالیه سلطنت پناه حلامت دستگاه گردن احداثه^۱ اطل الله
- Line 2
حانم اهل دین رسول الله السلطان این السلطان همایون اعظم الازهم قطب شاه
حکد الله ملکه و سلطانه و افاض علی العالمین ثرة و عدله و احسانه O بنو دق الله
تعالی در اسمدک روح [تر] پیر فوج
- Line 3
حضر سلطان الاولیا امام العسای و العرفاء قطب الارض و السماء رئیس المحتویین
سند المعشوقین شاه محیی الدین ابو محمد سید عبد العادر الحسنی الحسنی
الحدانی رضی الله تعالی عنه اسدعاب یاف
- Line 4
مقدور حضرت مسمی دعد العادر المحاط نامدکال قریسی العادری مرید حضر
قطب الانام سا [ه] محمد العادری الحدانی خلعة حضر مرید الانام
سبح الازهم المسنعر محترم شاه حی محمد فادری قدس سرهما در تاریخ
سنة ست و ستم و تسعما [ده]
- Line 5
من الهجرة المصطفوية عليه افضل الصلوة و السلا [م و] اکمل النکات نکال سعی
دانام و احداث رساند امد وانی و رجاء صادق حانست که حی سدکا [ده]
و تعالی
- Line 6
حلّ حلاله و عمّ نواله و عظم سانه این گنبد عالی اساس را از حواری و زوکار در حفظ
و امان خود نگاه دارد نمده و حوده و کرمه آمن رب العالمین
- Line 7
نعداب الله تعالی و مدد اشغال حضر سلطان الاولیا رضی الله عنه و رضاه هم
در زمیں انعام گنبد مذکور مسعد و حمانکانه و چهار دیواری گرد مسعد مدبر
کرده سنگ سنگس دسده تمام شد این عمارت مذکور در تاریخ ماه حمادی الاول
سپهر سنة اربع ثمانس تسعمانه هجره

¹ احتناء is somewhat unusual here. The correct word would have been حبه, but as it does not rhyme with اکتناء, the author has ventured to use the verbal form اکتناء.

² The engraver has added this word by mistake.

مصطفونه عند السلام ر صم ذلك لله العبد الفقير الوقتر عند العادر المحاطب Lane 8
 نامن حان المشهور بشخصه (ق) بن سديم بر بن سديم همايون بن قاضي
 خواص بن معتبر العلما قاضي امجد (و) بن امجد صلحا قاضي قطب دانا
 العرشى العادى اولادهم امجادهم اسمهم خطاط حان و فاضل حان و عند العلى و
 عند الكريم و سديم ابراهيم ©

TRANSLATION

" And my guidance is from no one but from God the High and Powerful

"The building of this heavenly vault and the foundation of this lofty edifice (happened) during the reign of His Exalted Majesty the refuge of the world the possessor of imperial dignity and divine authority, the shadow of God the servant of the family of the apostle of God (Muhammad) the Sultan son of Sultan, the auspicious the great Ibrahim Qutb Shih may God preserve his kingdom and sovereignty and extend to the people of the world his benevolence, justice and bounty! And by the grace of God Almighty, and by the help of the triumphant soul of His Holiness the prince of saints, the chief of divines and god loving persons, the axis of the earth and heaven, the most admired of the beautiful, and the chief of the beloved Shih Muhin'd Din Abū Muhammad Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qādir al Hasani al Husani al Hilmi may God be pleased with him, the humble and lowly (servant) called 'Abdu'l Qādir and entitled as Amin Khān Quraḥī al Qādiri the disciple of His Grace the pivot of mankind, Shih Muhammad al Qādiri al Multanī the successor of His Grace, the leader of mankind, Shaikh Ibrahim alias Maḥdūm Shihji Muhammad Qādiri may God sweetify the secrets of both of them after having exerted himself to the full completed and finished (this building) in the year 976 H (1578 A D) from the Hijra of the chosen prophet (Muhammad), may the peace of God and His most perfect blessings be upon him! It is earnestly hoped and sincerely believed that God the Holy and Almighty, Whose glory is resplendent Whose bounty is universal and Whose authority is sublime, will keep this lofty vault under His protection and care against the vicissitudes of time—through His bounty, benevolence and kindness Amen! O Cherisher of the universe By the grace of Almighty God, by the help of the spiritual devotion of His Holiness, the prince of saints (Shaikh) Muhin'd Din 'Abdu'l Qādir, may God be pleased with him, and by his (Shaikh 'Abdu'l Qādir's) inspiration in the imām land of the above mentioned vault a mosque with prayer hall and an enclosure round the same mosque were also built of solid masonry The latter building was completed in the month of Jumādu I, *Shahūr san* 984, of the hijra of the Chosen Prophet—may peace be upon him! (September, 1583 A D) This inscription set up by the humble, lowly and insignificant servant, 'Abdu'l Qādir, entitled Amin Khān and known as Shaikh Miḥān, son of Shaikh Bāq, son of Shaikh Humāwān, son of Qāzī Khisrān, son of the pride of scholars, Qāzī Amjad, son of the chief of the holy men Qāzī Qutb Bābā, al-Qarshī, al Qādiri was corrected by the noble descendants of the latter (i.e., progeny of the forbears of 'Abdu'l-Qādir), whose names are, Khattat Khān, Fāzīl Khān, 'Abdu'l 'Alī, 'Abdu'l Karīm and Shaikh Ibrahim "

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FIVE NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BIDAR DISTRICT

FIVE NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BIDAR DISTRICT

By G YAZDANI

The late Mr Sultan 'Alī Faruqī, Superintendent of Bidar Monuments, whose untimely death has caused a great loss to the Archæological Department of Hyderabad State, sent me inked rubbings of five inscriptions for decipherment last year. One of these belongs to the reign of 'Alī Barīd, the third ruler of the dynasty, whose administration lasted from 1542 to 1579 A.D. and who was the first to assume the title of king. The inscription is carved on the masonry of a sluice of the Kamthāna tank, which was the chief source of the supply of water to Bidar City during its palmy days. The inscription is a kind of warning against the overflow of the water of the tank, which might have caused a breach in the embankment. The sluice on which the inscription is carved was apparently constructed to discharge the surplus water and thus to minimise the danger of a breach. The inscription mentions the name of Ā'zam Mansūr Khān as the builder of the embankment, but as the names of the dignitaries of Barīd Shāhī Court are not preserved in any contemporary record the name of Mansūr Khān is not known to the historian.

The language of the inscription is Marathi and its text has been deciphered for me by Mr R. M. Joshi, M.A., who has succeeded Mr Sultan 'Alī Faruqī as Superintendent of Bidar Monuments.

TEXT
Plate I(a)

- 1 चड कोळा करिता हीजाचा तुंब नुकसान जा
- 2 का होता हजरत बरिद शाहाने अजम मनसुर खां
- 3 नाचे हातिं तुंब बाधविका पाणि उचकून नेतां ही
- 4 जास मजरत आहे ऐसे न करणे माहे मोहरम स
- 5 न सवा समानिन सुहुर सन तिसा सबैन व
- 6 तिसा मेया

TRANSLITERATION

- 1 Chanda Kolī karitān houjāchā tumba nukasāna jā
- 2 Lā hotī Hajarata Barida Shā Hāne Ajama-mana Sura Khān
- 3 Nāche hātīn tumba bāndhavilā pāni uchalun netān hau
- 4 Jās majarata āhe aise na karane māhe Moharam sa
- 5 Na sabā samānin suhuru sana tisā sabaina va
- 6 Tisā meyā

TRANSLATION

The bund of the reservoir built for the accumulation of residual water was damaged. It was constructed by Hadrat Barīd Shāh through Ā'zam Mansūr Khān. If water is carried over the bund, there is likelihood of its being damaged. None should do so.

The month of Muharram in the year 87 (Hijrī) corresponding with *Shahūr San* 979 (1579 A D)

Another of these five inscriptions contains the name of 'Alī Barīd, but here he is probably the second king of this name, who ruled from 1010 to 1018 H, for the date given at the end of the inscription is *Shahūr San* 1001 which corresponds with 1010 H. The inscription is carved on a tablet which was found in clearing the debris from one of the old gateways of the Bidar Fort, which was originally styled the Sukla Tiratha Gate. The inscriptional tablet is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum of the Bidar Fort. The tablet measures 1 ft 4 in by 10 in.

The inscription consists of five lines and the language is Marathi. The text has been deciphered by Mr R M Joshi.

TEXT
Plate I(b)

- १ पड कोटा नजदिका दरवाजा सुकल तीरथ
- २ कार किर्दि कासीम बरीद स्याह पडिले
- ३ होति बादज वो कारकीर्दि हजरत
- ४ अली बरोद स्याह बांधिले हवाल
- ५ नरसोराम सुहुर सन इहदे अलफ

TRANSLITERATION

- 1 Pada Kotā najadika darawājā Sukala tiratha,
- 2 Kāra kirdi Kāsima Barīda Syāha padile
- 3 Hote bādaja vo kārakirdi Hajarata
- 4 Alī Barīda Syāh Bāndhile hawāle
- 5 Narsorāma subura sana ihade Alafa

TRANSLATION

- 1 The 'Sukla Tirtha Gate, in the vicinity of Padakota,
- 2 Collapsed during the reign of Qāsim Barīd Shāh
- 3 Later on in the reign of Hadrat
- 4 'Alī Barīd Shāh the same was reconstructed under the charge of
- 5 Narsoram in the *Shahūr San* 1001 (1601 A D)

The third and fourth inscriptions of this set are from a well at Āshtūr which was built by a royal officer named Jagapat Rāo during the reign of Mirza Walī Amīr Barīd in 1018 H. The well is of considerable dimensions and it has steps of masonry which has been finely dressed. The name of Mirza Walī Amīr Barīd as the eighth ruler of the dynasty is also mentioned by Firishṭa,¹ but Haig in the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol III, p 709) has given 'Alī Barīd Shāh as the title of the eighth king. The source of Haig's information is not known, but the name of the eighth Barīdī king who ruled from 1018 H is also given by the author of *Basāṭinu-s-Salātīn*² and

¹ *Firishṭa*, Persian text (Bombay lithograph), Vol II, pp 348-49

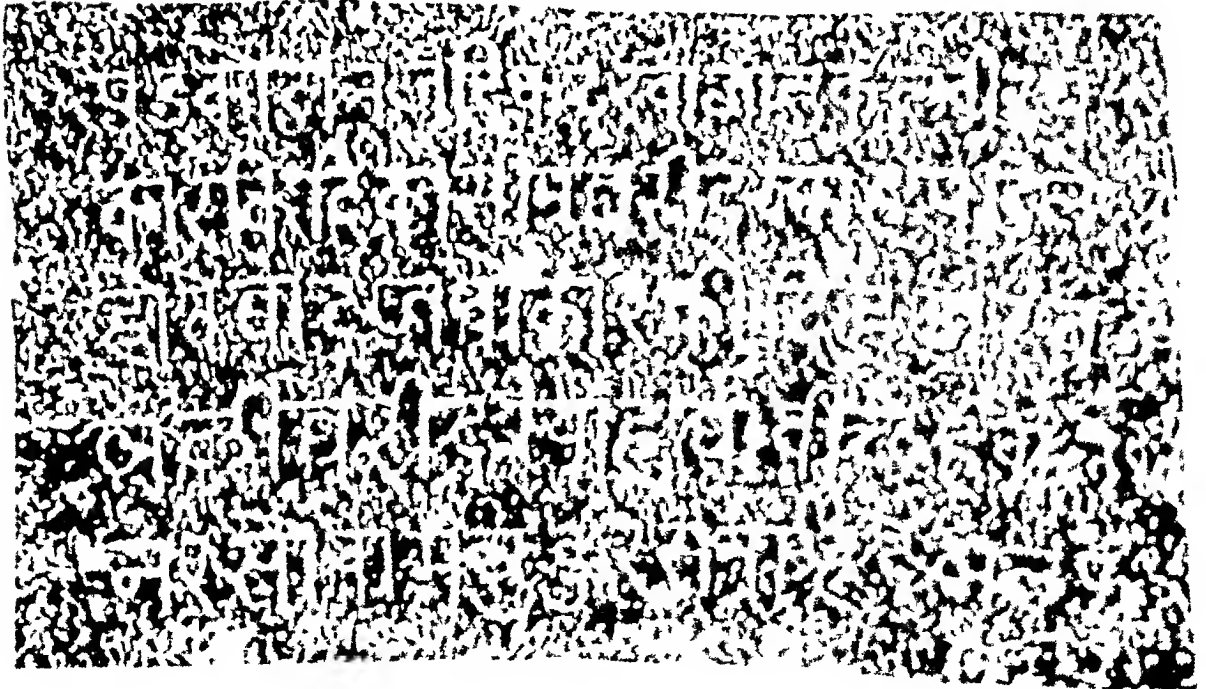
² *Basāṭīn*, Hyderabad lithograph, p 273

(a) Inscription on Ah Bond from the Kumbhar Panchayat

चंडकोळकनितां हो जा चार्तु घनु कक्षान जा
 ला हो ना ह ज पत घा पि द शा जान प्प ज म म न सु प ता
 ना वे हा ति तुं घ घा य वि ला पा ठि त दु लु न ने ता हो
 जा स म ज प त घा ह्ये से न क प ठे मा हे जो ह पु म स
 न स पा स म्मा नि न सु ह प स न ति सा स धे न व
 ति सा म्मा पा

S. 10. 1

(b) Inscription of Ah Bond from the Bedal Fort



it is Mirza Walī Amīr Barīd, the same as given by Firishta and mentioned in these two inscriptions

One of these two epigraphs is in Persian and the other in Marathi. The Persian record consists of a single line which is written in *Thulih* characters of a beautiful type. I have deciphered the text as follows —

Plate II(a)

نامی، ایس حاء در درو حصر سلیمان حاء امیرزای امیر برید شاه حلد الله سلطانہ العبد حکمرار بن
دجال یکمدر دولتی سنہ ۱۰۱۸ ھ

TRANSLATION

The builder of this well, during the reign of His Majesty with Solomon's glory, Amīrza Walī Amīr Barīd Shāhī, may God perpetuate his sovereignty, was the servant of the state, Jagat Rāo, the son of Banchāhikhandū. In the year 1018 H (1609 A D)

The Marathi record has been deciphered by Mr R. M. Joshi, M A, whose reading of the text is given below—

TEXT

Plate II(b)

- 1 अज सळतनत सुळतान अह
- 2 मद शाह वहमनि वाजद हुमायुन
- 3 अकरम वरीद शाहा आठवि पिढी
- 4 अमीर वरिद शाहाचि पादशाही
- 5 याचा फर्जंद जगपति राव दीकती वि
- 6 हीरी वागेविं चौगस वाधविकि
- 7 असे शुहुर मन अशर अरुफ
- 8 याचि हिदवि बेरिज १०१० श
- 9 के १५३१ स.भ्यनाम सवत्सर

TRANSLITERATION

- 1 Aja Salatanata Sulatīna aha
- 2 Mada Shāha Bahamani bājada Humāyūna
- 3 Akarāma Barīda Shāha āthavin pidhi
- 4 Amīr Barīda shāhāchi pāda Shāhi

- 5 Yāchā farjanda Jagapatīrao Doulatī vī
- 6 Hirī barinī chouras bāndhavī
- 7 Ase Shuhura Sana ashar alafa
- 8 Yāchihindavī berija 1010 'Sa
- 9 Ke 1531 Sāmya nāma Sanvatsara

TRANSLATION

During the period of the reign of the dynasty of Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī, after whom there was Humāyūn Akram Barid Shāh, and in the eighth generation there was Amīr Barīd, his son¹ Jagapatī Rāo Daulatī constructed a well with steps, the *Shahūr* year was 'ashare alaf totalling 1010, the Saka year is 1531 cyclic year Sāmya (Saumya)

The fifth inscription of the set is from a mosque at Gornallī,² a village some three miles off Bidar. This inscription also mentions the name of Amīr Barīd Shāh as the reigning king in 1019 H, thus confirming the information contained in the two epigraphs of the well at Āshūr. The style of writing is *Thulth* of an elegant type and the inscription consists of four lines, each arranged in a panel. The upper two panels contain the *Bismillah* and the Islamic creed, while the lower two contain a record mentioning the building of a mosque by Khvaja Bostān in 1019 H, during the reign of Amīr Barīd Shāh II.

I have deciphered the text as follows—

Plate II(c)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

بنا هذا المسجد في زمان السلطاني امير دريد شاه

ثاني وثاني ابن مسجد حواجه بوسان سنة ١٠١٩

كده احمد (٩)

TRANSLATION

In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate¹

"There is no god but God and Muhammad is the apostle of God"

This mosque was built during the sovereignty of Amīr Barīd Shāh II, and the builder of this mosque was Khvaja Bostān in 1019 H (1610 A D)

¹ The Marathi record is only a version of the Persian text, but the translator has committed a serious blunder by mentioning Jagapatī Rāo as the son of King Amīr Barīd. In the Persian text the name of Jagapatī Rāo's father is mentioned as Banchālī Khandū, which seems to be correct.

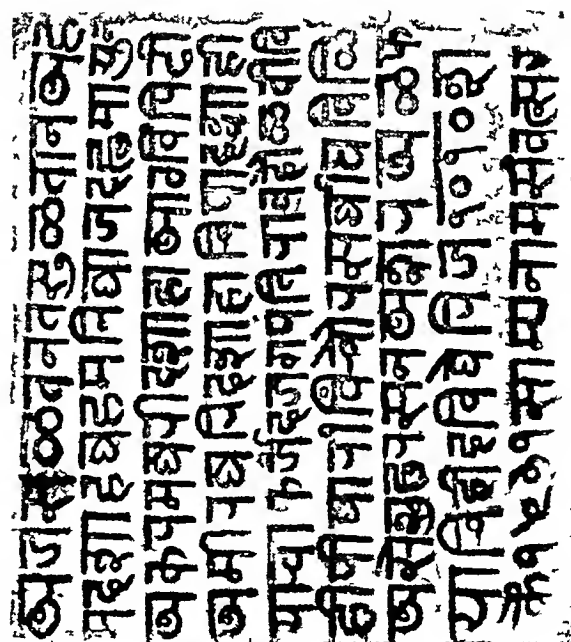
The mosque at Gornallī is a small building, consisting of a single room with three arched openings towards the East.

Inscription of Mirza Walī Barīd from Ashtur, Bīdar



SCALE 166

(b) Marathi version of *a*



SCALE 2

(c) Inscription on a mosque at
Gornallı, Bidar



SCALE 166

INSCRIPTION OF SULTĀN BALBAN FROM BAYANA, BHARATPUR STATE

By G YAZDANI

In January, 1939, Dr N P Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, kindly sent me the inked rubbing of an inscription, now preserved in the Sanskrit School, attached to the temple of Goeulehandramāji at Kāman, Bharatpur State. The inscriptional tablet¹ is stated to have come out of a well in the neighbourhood when it was re-excavated by the Goswami Ballabhāchārīa, the family preceptor of the rajas of Bharatpur and the custodian of Goeulechandrāmāji's temple. The inscription is in Persian prose and consists of ten lines. The script is *Nasta'liq* of a heavy style, such as was in vogue in India in the 13th century A.D. during the rule of the early Sultāns of Delhi.

The inscription records the clearance and re-digging of a well during the reign of Ghuyāthū'd-Dīn Balban and the governorship of Nusrat Khān, the fief-holder of Bayana. The name of Nusrat Khān is not mentioned among the dignitaries of Balban's court in contemporary histories, but it occurs in the chronicles of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khiljī's reign as that of his minister.² The fief of Bayana owing to its vicinity to Delhi was a special prize awarded to those nobles only who had rendered most loyal service to the king. The fact mentioned in the inscription that Nusrat Khān held the fief of Bayana shows that he was one of the distinguished nobles during the reign of Balban as well.

The inscriptional tablet on its back bears a Sanskrit inscription which is being deciphered by Dr N P Chakravarti and will be published in the *Epigraphia Indica* in due course. I have deciphered the Persian text as follows —

Plate III(a)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

حاجه را کی بعد (۶) از صد پدجاه سال عمارت کرده بودند
و بعد از آن دولت محمد حاجی (۶) . . . سر کرده وارسنگ و
. پر شده از سنگ آن حلالی را مصری می رسد
در آب کردن آغار کرده سد در عمره ماه مبارک رمضا
ن سده نفع و سندن و سدهایه تا اواخر ماه نایم رسد
در احلاس³ (۶) حدارند عالم نایساده نبی آدم عذاب ا
لدنیا و الدین ظل الله فی العالمین حاکم ملکه
و در دولت حاکم اعظم ملک ملوک الشرق مصره

¹ The inscriptional tablet measures 2 ft by 1 ft 9 in

² *Turikh-i Firoz Shahi* by Z. Barni (Bibl. Ind.), p. 240

³ In the later writings, particularly in the legends on coins, instead of احلاس the word چاروس has been used

حان معطع حطة معاه دام علاه ر ك اعدا
 ه ار دس ندده معدف اراقم ابنكر دوسدروان
 دام . . كده . فى النارج المذكور
 والله اعلم دم

TRANSLATION

In the name of God the most Merciful and Compassionate !

The clearance of the well which was built one hundred and fifty years ago, and afterwards during the regime of Muhammad Hījī (?) was choked, and filled up with stones and the people suffered thereby, commenced on the first of the auspicious month of Rāmādān in the year 669 H (Monday, 15th June, 1271 A D) and was completed by the end of the same month During the reign of the lord of the world, the king of mankind, Ghiyāthū'd-Dunya wad-D'n (the refuge of the faith and state), the shadow of God in all the worlds, may God perpetuate his kingdom, and during the regime of the exalted Khān, the Malīk (Prince) of the Malīks of the East, Nusrat Khān, the sief-holder of Bayana, may God preserve his dignity and prostrate his enemies, through the effort of the humble servant, Ibrāhīm Abū Bakr Nausīrwān preserve Written on the above date God is the best Knower End

INSCRIPTION OF GHIYĀTHU'D-DĪN TUḠHLUQ FROM ASRAWA KHURD NEAR ALLAHABAD

By G. YAZDANI

An inked rubbing of this inscription was kindly sent to me for decipherment by Dr K A A Ansari, Assistant Engineer, Northern Circle, who also sent me a note on the epigraph which had been compiled by Maulavi Ashraf Husain Sahib According to the Maulavi Sahib's note the inscriptional tablet is lying near a plastered tomb at Asrawa Khurd, a village some ten miles from Allahabad The tomb is locally known as the *maqbara* (sepulchre) of Sipāh Sālār-i-Ā'zam 'Abdu'l-Latīf Sa'id The inscription does not contain the name of this Sipāh Sālār and apparently it has no connection with the tomb by which it is lying, and belongs to some other monument, which may have been a religious or secular building

The inscriptional tablet is of Chunar stone and it measures 5 ft by 1 ft 6 in The epigraph is carved in relief, but as the tablet was used for some time by washermen the letters have crumbled away in several places The script is *Nasāḥ* of an early type and the inscription contains certain phrases and titles which are usually found in the inscriptions of the early Sultāns of Delhi The language of the inscription is Arabic and it consists of three lines

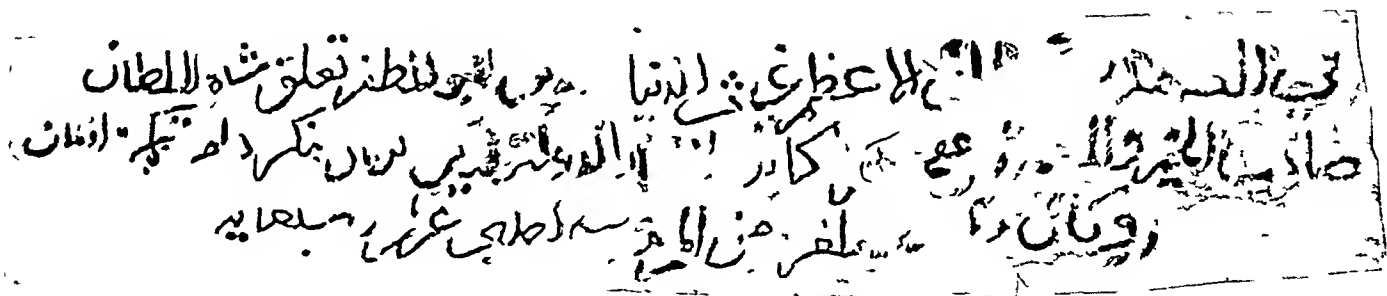
In the inscription the name of Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn Tuḡhluq is mentioned and as he ruled from 720 to 725 H the date 721 H given at the end of the inscription falls within his reign The inscription also contains the name of the court noble, Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn In the list of dignitaries given by Barnī, there are two nobles of this title during the reign of

(a) Inscription of Sultan Balban from Bayana, Bharatpur State



SCALE 2

(b) Inscription of Ghiyathu'd-Din Tughluq from Asrawa Khurd, Allahabad



SCALE 166

—

1

'Alīu'd-Dīn Khālī who ruled up to 715 H.¹ Their names are Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn Etagīn and Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn Afghān. As the clan name Afghān also occurs in the inscription it may be surmised that the noble referred to in the inscription is Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn Afghān, who may have enjoyed the patronage of the kings of Delhi until 721 H., the date of the inscription.

Maulavi Ashraf Husain Sahib had deciphered the text almost correctly and I have altered his reading only in three places. The text as read by me is given below —

Plate III(b)

(۱) فی العهد . . . ن الاعظم عتاب الدنيا [راند] یں ادوالعطر بعلی شاه السلطان

(۲) صاحب الحدر [سعاده] معمر [۱] کرا [حنا] رالدله والديں افعال

(۳) رکل [خدا فی] العره من المحرم سنه احدى عشرین و سعمایه ○

TRANSLATION

During the reign of the great *Gluyāthu'd-Dunya wad-Dīn Abu'l Muzaffar Tughluq Shāh*, the Sultān, the master of benefaction and felicity, the pride of nobles, *Ikhtiyāru'd-Daula wa'd-Dīn Afghān*. This was recorded on the 1st of Muharram, 721 H (31st January, 1321 A.D.)

THREE PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF ALLĀH VARDĪ KHĀN TURKMĀN FROM THE ANCIENT HILL FORTS IN THE NASIK DISTRICT

By Q. M. MOONEER, B.A., F.L.A. (LONDON), SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, WESTERN CIRCLE, POONA

The three inscriptions which are reproduced and reviewed at the end of this paper are engraved on rocks in the Sātmāla ranges² on which are erected the ancient forts of Indrā'ī³, Chāndor⁴ and Dhōdāp⁵. The Sātmāla hills ranging from west to east are now mostly comprised within the present boundaries of the Nasik District of the Bombay Presidency. This range, in combination with the main Western Ghats or the Sahyādri range, to which it runs at right angles, formed the northern and western borders respectively of the Ahmadnagar kingdom of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, which flourished from 1499 A.D. to 1630 A.D. To defend their territory against the encroachments of neighbouring states, the Nizām Shāhī kings would appear to have erected and fortified a large number of hill forts at different strategic

¹ *Turikh-i Fīroz Shāhī* (Bibl. Ind.), p. 211

² This range is variously known as the Sātmāla, Chāndor or Ajanta range, the first being the preferable name.

³ In north latitude 23° 22', east longitude 74° 13', and 4,495 feet above sea level. The hill fort at this place is 4 miles north west of Chāndor town on the Raura Pass and its inscription is carved on the face of the rock to right proper of the uppermost entrance of the hill fort at Indrā'ī in the Chāndor taluka of Nasik District.

⁴ In north latitude 20° 20', east longitude 74° 15' and 3,994 feet above sea level. The hill fort of Chāndor is about 40 miles north east of Nasik town, on the main road from Bombay to Agra and its inscription is carved on the rock facing Chāndor town.

⁵ In north latitude 20° 23', east longitude 74° 2' and 3,798 feet above sea level. The hill fort is 15 miles north west of Chāndor town and its inscription is carved on the face of the rock to left proper of its inner gateway.

points on the hill tops and along the passes of their northern border' The strategic and defensive value of these forts was never so severely put to the test as when the kings and regents of Ahmadnagar had to defend their realm against the aggression of the Mughal emperors from the north

The emperor Akbar was the first of this line to invade the Nizām Shāhī kingdom, in 1591 A D and although he conquered Khāndesh and made the Nizām Shāhī regent¹ recognize his suzerainty (1596 A D), his son Jahāngīr (1606—1627 A D) somewhat fitfully², and his grandson Shāh Jahān (1627—1657 A D) with desperate determination, continued to encroach upon the independence of Ahmadnagar kingdom till it was wholly annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1632 A D³ Shāh Jahān's viceroy of the Deccan, Mahābat Khān, Khān Khānān, besieged the Ahmadnagar regent, General Fath Khān, the son of the famous Malik 'Ambar, in the fortress of Daulatābād (Dāogiri) in 1631 A D More by bribery perhaps than by bravery, the former succeeded in compelling the latter not only to surrender himself but also his ward, the minor King Husam Nizām Shāh. While Fath Khān was rewarded for his abject surrender by the bestowal upon him of many a royal favour, his unlucky young sovereign was imprisoned for life in the Gwālior fort⁴ It was this betrayal that for the first time in their history brought the Marāthās into direct conflict with the Imperial Mughal army A Marāthā nobleman Rājā Shāhji Bhōnsle, the father of the more famous Shivāji, the founder of the Marāthā Empire, taking his stand on the strong position of his clansmen in the areas comprised in and adjoining the Ahmadnagar territory, and with the tacit support of the Sultāns of Golconda and Bijapur stepped into the affairs of Nizām Shāhī kingdom to prevent its annexation by the Mughals Assuming the role of regent, Shāhji set up another scion of Nizām Shāhī dynasty as the Sultān and organised the defences of the kingdom with a view to resist and harass the army of occupation⁵ As part of the defensive measures adopted by him, Shāhji had many important hill forts in the Sātmāla and Sahyādri ranges garrisoned by his men, whose guerilla raids seriously hampered the movements of the Mughal army in the Ahmadnagar territory⁶ To crush this menace, Shāh Jahān despatched strong reinforcements with instructions to overpower Shāhji's resistance by operating against him from three different points A force of 20,000 strong under Khān Daurān was posted at Nander to prevent any supplies reaching Shāhji from the side of Golconda Another contingent of 20,000 was placed under Khān Zamān with orders to pillage the home lands of Shāhji in the Poona District to the south and south-west of Ahmadnagar territory The third detachment comprising 8,000 men was entrusted to Shāhīsta Khān for dislodging the hostile garrisons from the regions of Trimbak, Junnar, Nasik and Sangamner⁷ From his force, Shāhīsta Khān was required also to detail 2,000 men under the two officers named Allāh Vardī Khān and Yakka Tāz Khān, to reduce the hill forts in the Sātmāla and Sahyādri ranges⁸

The hill forts of Indrā'ī, Chānzar and Dhōdap on or near which respectively, the three inscriptions reproduced below are preserved, were among many others which are named in them as

¹ The small tracts of Baglān and Kalān above this border were ruled by local Rajput princes who seem to have been left practically independent during the period of Nizām Shāhī ascendancy over Ahmadnagar kingdom, vide *Nasik District Gazetteer*, p 187, footnote I

² *Turikh-i-Firishla* (Brygg's translation), Vol II, pp 265, 269, 270 and 273

³ *Iqbal Nāma-i-Jahangiri* (Bibl Ind), pp 24 39, 67, 90—91

⁴ *Badshāh Nāmā* of Mullā 'Abdu'l Hamid Lāhorī (Bibl Ind), Vol I, part 2, pp 135 151

⁵ *Idem*, Part I pp 527 31

⁶ *Ibid*, Vol I, Part I, pp 540-41

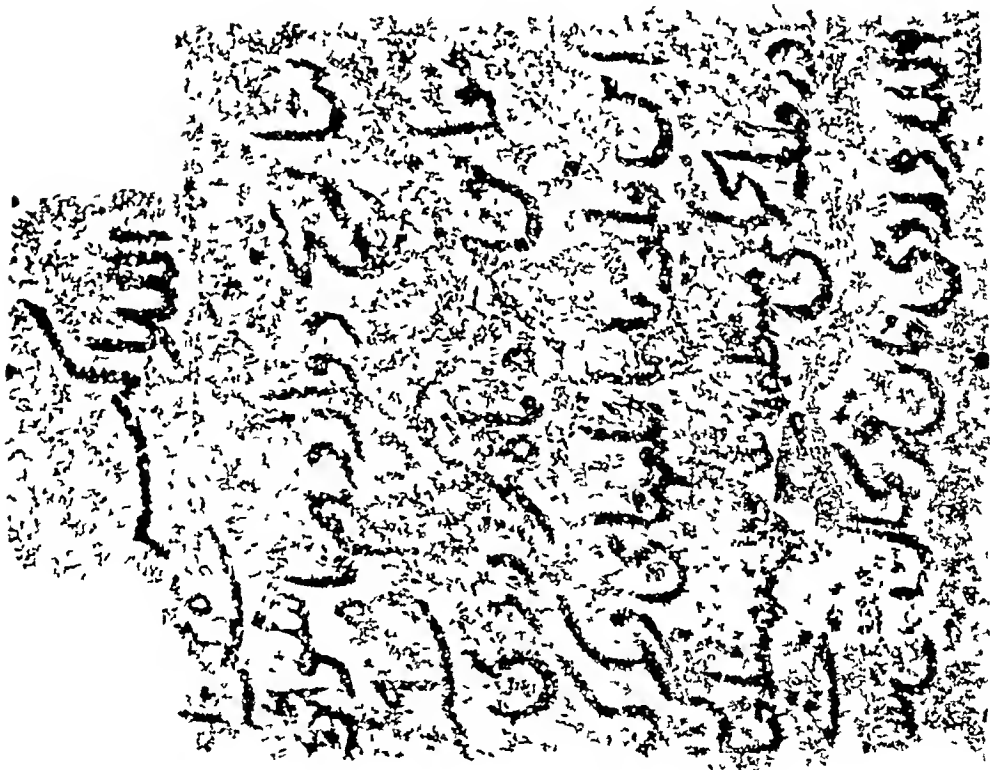
⁷ *Ibid*, Part 2, p 135

⁸ *Ibid*, pp 138 39

⁹ *Ibid*, pp 136 37

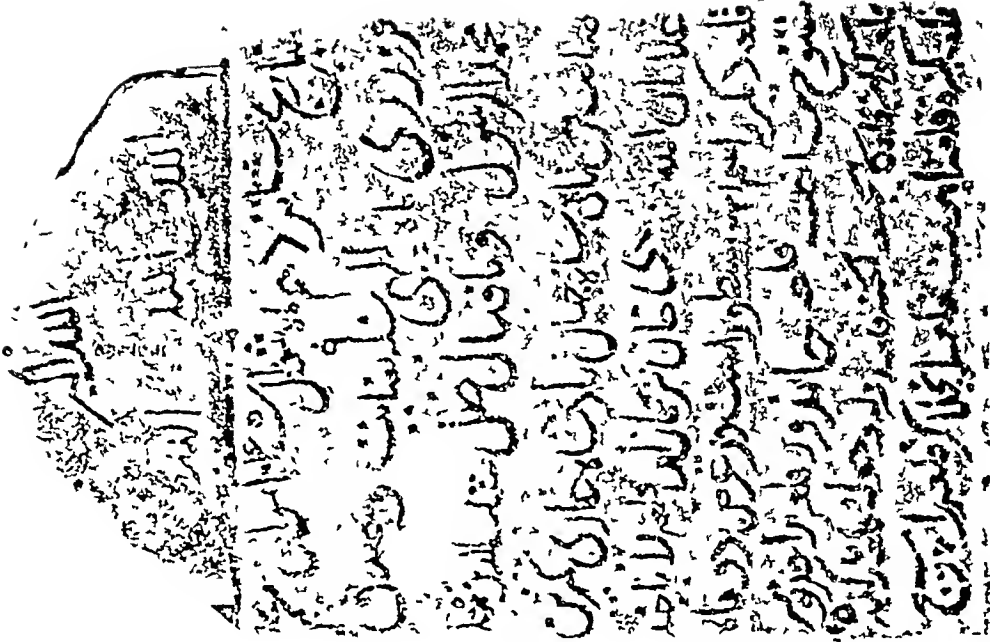
¹⁰ *Ibid*, p 139

(a) Inscription on a rock at the Chandor Fort, Nasik District



SCALE 125

(b) Inscription on a rock at the Indrai Fort, Nasik District



SCALE 1

having been conquered also by Allāh Vardī Khān in these ranges¹ These inscriptions do not tell us the chronological sequence of the conquest of each of these forts, but it is abundantly clear from the inscriptions that so far as the hill forts of Chāndor, Indrā'i and Dhōdap are concerned, they fell to siege in the order in which their respective records are examined in this paper As their texts will bear out, these inscriptions were inscribed in the name of and very probably at the instance of Allāh Vardī Khān himself He claims in them the credit of having conquered not only the forts on which they are carved, but thirteen other forts in the same area which are mentioned by name in two of the inscriptions examined below

The Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān of these inscriptions claimed descent from the famous Saljūqī sovereign, Sultān Sanjar (1086—1157 A D) of Central Asia He came to India during the latter part of the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr (1606—1627 A D) Through his brother, Mukhlis Khān, who was already in service as the companion to Prince Parviz, Allāh Vardī was presented at the royal court Being a good sportsman and the inventor of a unique hunting device called Turkalānī², he soon won the favour of Jahāngīr who appointed him as Qarāwal Begī, or Superintendent of hunting excursions, in 1626 A D At the very start of the reign of Shāh Jahān in 1627 A D Allāh Vardī Khān was admitted to the rank of the nobles of the court and was attached to Mahābat Khān, Khān Khānān, for active service in the field He displayed great valour at the siege of the fort of Parenda on the southern border of the Ahmadnagar kingdom and later under Shāh'istā Khān won signal laurels in capturing a large number of hill forts which are mentioned in the inscriptions studied below After these achievements in 1636 A D, Allāh Vardī Khān was appointed in succession as the Warden of Lucknow, Muttra and of the Imperial capital, Delhi In 1653 A D he accompanied Dārā Shukoh in the expedition sent by Shāh Jahān for retaking Qandhār from the King of Persia His behaviour during this expedition having been adversely reported on, Shāh Jahān deprived him of his title and rank, but in view of his past services assigned him the revenues of the paragana of Shankarpūr as pension After a short interval, however, he was re-employed and appointed to the charge of Echehpūr, from which post he was raised to the governorship of the province of Berar He was again involved in a misunderstanding which led to his recall and confinement in his own house in the capital On the recommendation of one of the princes royal, he was sent to Jaunpūr as its administrator and was later appointed governor of the province of Bihar About this time, Shāh Shujā', the second son of Shāh Jahān and Governor of Bengal, advanced from his province to march on Delhi, to take part in the fratricidal war which was occasioned by the news of the serious illness of Shāh Jahān Allāh Vardī, unwilling to oppose the advance of the prince through his area, retired to Benares where, however, Shāh Shujā' succeeded in persuading him to join his cause in the impending struggle When the prince set out from Benares, Allāh Vardī Khān changed his mind and with all his adherents returned to Benares and shut himself up in his house Shāh Shujā' too returned and by false means got hold of Allāh Vardī and one of his sons by name Saifullāh, and after parading them on elephant back through the city, put both of them to death (1657 A D) ³

Plate IV(a)

Inscription on the rock of the hill fort at Chāndor, facing the town of Chāndor in the taluka of the same name in the Nasik District The original size of the inscription is 3 ft 4 in by 2 ft 6 in

¹ *Badshāh Nāmā* or Mullī 'Abdu'l Hamīd Lāhorī, (Bibl Ind), Vol I, Part 2, pp 146 48

² The device 'Turkalānī' consisted of a series of strong nets, the weight of eighty camel loads, ten thousand royal yards long and six broad It was pitched like a tent with strong poles, so that once a wild animal was caught in the same, it could not break through the meshes

³ *Mā'athur ul Umarā* (Bibl Ind), Vol I, pp 207 215.

TEXT

الله اكبر

تاریخ دوازدهم ماه شوال سنه ۱۰۴۵
موافق عرّه ماه فروردی سنه ۹
این قلعه را با قلعه های دیگر که
در قلعه اندرایی مسطور [ر] شاه جهان
الله وردی خان ترکمان معنوج ساخت

TRANSLATION

Allāh is Great

- (1) On the twelfth of Shawwāl 1015 H, (20th March, 1636 A D)
- (2) corresponding to the first of the month of Farwardīn, in the (regnal) year nine,
- (3) this fort along with other forts which
- (4) are (mentioned) in the Anjra'i fort (inscription), Shāh Jahān
- (5) were conquered by Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān

Making due allowance for the gaps in the text above, its meaning and purpose are sufficiently clear. Whereas this inscription gives the 12th of Shawwāl, 1015 H, as the date of the fall of Chāndor fort, the court chronicles of Shāh Jahān assign the 16th of the same month of the same year as the date of the fall.¹

Plate IV(b)

Inscription engraved on the face of the rock to the right proper of the uppermost entrance of the hill fort at Indrā'i in the Chāndor taluka of Nasik District. The original size of the inscription is 4 ft 2 in by 2 ft 9 in.

TEXT

الله اكبر

الله الله الله
تاریخ شانزدهم ماه شوال سنه ۱۰۴۵ مطابق سنه
فروردی ماه الهی سنه ۹ رعایت ر تصدیق
محمد الرسول ر ناصر طل شهاب الدین محمد
صاحب قراں ثانی شاه جهان نادر شاه عاری کمدرن
علامان الله [ر] دی خان ترکمان این قلعه را نا حد

¹ *Bādshāh Nama* of Mullā 'Abdu'l Hamīd Lāhūrī, (Bibl Ind), Vol I, Part 2, p 146. The date in the inscription is obviously more authentic than that given in the *Bādshāh Nāma*.

قلعه ديگر كه اسم آنها مسطور است در عرض دروازه
معدوم صاحب قلعه چاندر قلعه راجدلوهر
قلعه كولر قلعه كاچچه ماسحه قلعه روله حوله قلعه ماركنده
قلعه كنبره قلعه اهنوب قلعه انچالگر قلعه رامسج

TRANSLATION

Allāh is Great

Allāh

Allāh

Allāh

- (1) On the sixteenth of the month of *Shawwāl*, 1015 H (March 24, 1636 A D) corresponding to the fifth
- (2) of the month of *Farwardīn* (of the) *Ilāhī* (regnal) year 9, through the favour and dispensation of
- (3) Muhammad the Apostle and under the prosperous shadow of *Shihību'd-Dīn* Muhammad,
- (4) the Second Lord of the Happy conjunction, *Shāh Jahān* the gallant king, the humblest
- (5) of (his) slaves *Allāh Vardī Khān Turkman* (conquered) this fort (*Indrā'ī*) with some
- (6) other forts, the names of which are written, in the course of two months
- (7) The *Chāndor* fort, the *Rījdhair* fort,
- (8) the *Kolair* (*Koledhair*) fort, the *Kānchnū* and *Mānchnī* forts, the *Raula* and *Jaula* (now known as *Raulya* and *Jaulya*) forts, the *Mārkaṇḍa* fort,
- (9) the *Kanhera* fort, the *Ahīvant* fort, the *Anchlāgar* (also called *Achalgarh*) fort and the *Rāmsej* fort

As the above text is engraved on the rock of the hill fort of *Indrā'ī*, the date 16th *Shawwāl*, 1015 H mentioned in it, obviously relates to the conquest of that particular fort, which we are told in another place, surrendered on the 19th *Shawwāl* of the same year¹ *Allāh Vardī Khān*'s claim of having taken among other forts, the hill fort of *Rāmsej* as well, is not borne out by his Chief Commander, *Shā'ista Khān*, who in his despatch received by *Shāh Jahān* on the fifth of *Shawwāl* gives the credit of conquering this fort to another officer, named *Ahmad Khān Niyāzī*²

Plate V(a)

The inscription is engraved on the face of the rock to the left side of the inner gateway of the hill fort at *Dhodap* in the *Kalvān* taluka of the *Nasik* District. The original size of the inscription is 5 ft 9 in by 3 ft 5 in.

TEXT

الله اكبر

الله

الله

الله

بنارنج نيسست و پندجم شهر محرم سنه ۱۰۴۶ م و اى

دهم ماه در الهى سنه ۱۰ دعائيت و تصديق

¹ *Badshah Nama* of Mullā 'Abdu'l Hamīd Lāhori, (Bibl Ind), Vol 1, Part 2, p 146. For authenticity the date in the inscription is to be preferred to that given by Mullā 'Abdu'l Hamīd Lāhori.

² *Ibid*, p 139

محمد رسول و اولادش و ناندال
 طل
 ثانی ساه حهان پادشاه عاری کمترین علامان
 الله وردی حان ترکمان این قلعه دهورپ
 را نا چهارده قلعه که اسم آنها مستطور اسب نعرص
 چهار ماه معقوج ساحدم قاعه چاندور و لعه انکرای
 قلعه راحد' و خیرسر قلعه کولیر قلعه کانچده قلعه مانچده
 قلعه کبیره قلعه حوله قلعه ررله قلعه مارکده
 قلعه اهورب قلعه انچاکر قلعه رامسید

TRANSLATION

Allāh is Great

Allāh

Allāh

Allāh

- (1) On the twenty-fifth of the month of Muharram, 1045 H (June, 29, 1636 A D) corresponding to
- (2) the ninth of the month of Tir of the Ilāhī (regnal) year 10, through the favour and by the dispensation of
- (3) Muhammad the Apostle and his descendants and under the prosperous
- (4) shadow .
- (5) the Second, Shāh Jahān, the gallant king, the humblest of the slaves,
- (6) Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān, this fort of Dhodap
- (7) along with fourteen forts the names of which are , during
- (8) four months, conquered The fort of Chāndor, the fort of Indrā'ī
- (9) the fort of Rājdhair, the fort of Kolair (Koledhair), the fort of Kānchhna, the fort of Mānchhna,
- (10) the fort of Kanhera, the fort of Jaulia, (Jaulya) the fort of Rauha (Raulya), the fort of Mārkhanda
- (11) the fort of Ahīvant, the fort of Anchalāgar (for Anchalgarh), the fort of Rāmsej

Notwithstanding its effaced fourth line, the above inscription leaves no doubt that occurring as it does on the hill fort of Dhodap, its primary purpose is to record the date of conquest of that particular fort by Allāh Vardī Khān, who mentions in it that he had taken this fort with fourteen other forts in the course of four months. The number fourteen would be correct if it included the Dhodap fort as well, for this inscription enumerates the names of only thirteen forts besides that of Dhodap. The thirteen names mentioned above are identical with those given in the Indrā'ī fort inscription (Plato IVb). The subjugation of these thirteen forts, according to that inscription, had taken two months before the fall of the last of them in the month of Shawwāl of the year 1045 H. It thus appears probable that Dhodap fort, which fell four months after the others, provided a stiff task to the besiegers.

In the above inscription too, Allāh Vardī Khān repeats his claim of having conquered the fort of Rāmsej¹ along with other forts, but what Shā'ista Khān, the Chief Commander of the expedition against the hill forts in question, had to say about this particular fort has already been mentioned above.

On the whole the interest of these three records would appear to lie in the fact that barring a few minor variations, the details embodied in them are faithfully corroborated by the relevant contemporary chronicles of the reign of Shāh Jahān, which were being registered at a great distance from the scene of the occurrences mentioned in these inscriptions.

A PERSIAN INSCRIPTION FROM THE JĀMI' MASJID AT CHAMPANER

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WESTERN CIRCLE, POONA

Now a single street of mean huts, Champaner (North latitude 20° 30' and East longitude 70° 30') in the Halol taluqa of the Panch Mahals district of the Bombay Presidency, was one of the two most important cities in the whole of Gujarat between 1485 and 1535 A.D. during which period it rose to be the second capital of the independent Sultāns of Gujarat.

From 1300 A.D. till its conquest in 1481 A.D. by Sultān Mahmūd Begra (1458-1511 A.D.), the sixth king of Gujarat in the Ahmad Shāhī line, Champaner with its adjoining hill fortress of Pawagadh was the seat of a dynasty of Qhohān Rajput chiefs, of whom the first to establish his rule at this place came into Gujarat from Ranthambore in Mewar as the result of the invasion of the latter country by the second Khālji Sultān of Delhi, 'Alau'd-Dīn (1296-1316 A.D.) in 1299 A.D.² In 1418 A.D. the first really independent Sultān of Gujarat, Ahmad Shāh I (1411-1412 A.D.), attacked the Qhohān Raval of Champaner in the capital of the latter, but retired with rich plunder and the promise of an annual tribute.³ Ahmad Shāh I's son and successor, Sultān Muhammad Shāh I (1442-1451 A.D.), also led an expedition against Champaner in 1450 A.D., but on the arrival of the army of Sultān Mahmūd Khālji of Malwa (1436-1469 A.D.) to the help of the Raval of this place, the Gujarat Sultān beat a hasty retreat to his capital.⁴ About a quarter of a century later, in 1473 A.D., Sultān Mahmūd Begra plundered the country around Champaner and returned to his capital without annexing any part of it.⁵ Nine years later, in 1482 A.D., during the reign of Mahmūd Begra again, one of his officers, by name Malik Sudha, led an incursion into the Champaner territory, but found more than a match in Raval Jayasingh the reigning chief of the place, who defeated and killed the intruder. This retaliation infuriated the Sultān into launching

¹ This is an isolated fort in the Sahyādri range and is conspicuous all the way from Nasik to the north. Other forts are all comprised within the Sātmūla range.

² *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. III, Kaira and Panch Mahals, p. 305.

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ *Farrishta*, Urdu translation, Naval Kishore Press, Vol. II, p. 278.

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 286-287.

⁶ *Zafar-ul-ulāh* (An Arabic History of Gujarat) by Hājī ad Dabir, Arabic Text, edited by Sir E. Denison Ross, Vol. I, pp. 21-22.

a powerful attack on Champaner in 1483 A D Jayasingh, unable to meet the vast invading hordes in the open field, betook himself into the impregnable fortress of Pawagadh, where he offered very stubborn resistance which prolonged the siege to over twenty months¹ In the course of this siege the Sultān's army is said to have shown signs of exhaustion In order to hearten it, he started the construction of a mosque in the town of Champaner, as an earnest of his determination not to leave the Pawagadh fort unconquered² At last Pawagadh surrendered, its ruler was taken prisoner and after a few months tortured to death During the protracted siege of Pawagadh, Mahmūd Begra had come to like Champaner for its climate and scenery and, therefore, decided to make it his second capital Here he laid the foundation of a fortified town which he named Muhammadābād, and further gave it the status of a mint-town under the designation of 'Shahr-i-Mukarram' or 'the sacred town'³

The scale and ornamental details of the plan of the mosque which he had begun to construct even while the result of the siege was undecided in 1483 A D were greatly enlarged, so that it took nearly thirty-five years to complete the whole edifice, which under the care it is receiving from the Government of India is still in a very good state of preservation and architecturally has been recognized as the finest in the whole of Gujarat⁴ Its open court, which measures 178 ft from north to south by 216 ft from west to east, is enclosed on north, south and east by rows of open arcades and is entered through minor porches on the north and south sides and a larger and richly carved one on the east front The prayer-hall is 169 ft 6 in in length by 81 ft inside the walls, its north-west part covering an area of 45 ft by 28 ft, being screened off by stone panels of beautiful tracery work, for the use of female worshippers The hall is arranged into a series of bays by rows of pillars, which number as many as 176 The terrace of the hall has eleven domes resting on it, in rows of four each in the front and back and one of three domes in the middle The facade has five arched entrances, of which the central one is the loftiest and double the width of others The central entrance is flanked on either side by an exquisitely carved *mīnār* of six storeys, each of which rises to a height of 100 ft The four outer corners of the hall have each a 50 ft high turret carved up to the roof level, above which it is plain and somewhat ungainly in appearance The inner face of the back or west wall of the prayer chamber is recessed with seven prayer-niches called *mīhrābs* or *qiblahs*⁵

The central *mīhrāb* or prayer-niche of this mosque is somewhat more elaborately finished than the remaining six *mīhrābs*, and it is this in which, according to Firsihta, was installed an exceedingly beautiful *mimbar* or pulpit The same historian, writing of this pulpit and niche, quotes the following *qu'ā* or stanza of three Persian couplets of a contemporary poet of which the last couplet conveys the date of the consecration of the pulpit in this niche, through the numerical value of the letters making up the words '*Alḥutba wa mimbar*'⁶

¹ *Zafarū'l walīh*, Vol I, pp 27 32

² *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol III, Kairi and Panch Mahals, p 305

³ *Zafarū'l walīh* Vol I, p 31

⁴ Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol II, p 242

⁵ For a detailed description of this mosque see *Muhammādan Architecture in Gujarat*, Part II (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series Reports, Vol VI), pp 41 43

⁶ *Firsihta*, Urdu Translation, Nawal Kishore Press, Vol II, p 307

Persian couplets

- (۱) حصرت شاه عاقبت مکرم آں سلاطین پناه دیں برور
 (۲) ندش مکراب مسجد ار عظیم مندرے صاحب حرب و حوش منظر
 (۳) سال تاریخ مندر و مکراب قلمی سد نکتہ ر مندر

TRANSLATION

- (1) His Majesty the Shāh of laudable recompense
 He (who is) the shield of kings and cherisher of religion,
 (2) In front of the prayer-niche, out of reverence
 Erected a pulpit graceful and pleasant,
 (3) The year of the date (of erection) of the pulpit and the niche
 Came to be recorded by (the words) *Lhūtba wa mimbar* (sermon and pulpit)

The total of the numerical values of the Persian letters making up the Arabic words of the chronogram '*Lhūtba wa mimbar*' mentioned in the second hemistich of the last couplet gives the year 914 of the Hijra era, corresponding to 1508-09 A D, when Mahmūd Begra (1458-1511 A D) was still alive and powerful. The chronogram when read with due regard to its connection with the context of other couplets leaves no room for doubt that it refers exclusively and pointedly to the date of erection of the pulpit and the niche only. By a strange irony Briggs, the well known translator of *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, has omitted to give a verbatim translation of the couplets cited above, and has contented himself with substituting a free and mistaken gist of its sense to the effect that the words '*Lhūtba-wa-mimbar*' of the chronogram were engraved on the pulpit, and that the year 914 H (1508-09 A D) accruing from them marked the date of the completion of the mosque as a whole.¹ By a still stranger irony all modern writers who had occasion to write about or refer to the history of this mosque have repeated the mistake made by Briggs and have accepted 914 H as the date of the completion of the mosque itself.² These writers have gone further and have alleged that the tablet engraved with the chronogram mentioned above was originally set up above the central *mīhrāb* and that it has for long been missing from its place, and also that the two tablets extant above the minor *mīhrāb* directly to the left and right of the central one are inscribed with a verse from the *Qur'ān*.³

Lately, I utilized the occasion of my inspection of the Jāmi' Masjid at Champaner for scanning the texts of the so-called verses from the *Qur'ān* on the two tablets mentioned above. The weathered surface of these oblong tablets of stone adds not a little to the difficulty of

¹ Briggs, *Firishṭa*, Vol IV, page 70

² *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* Vol III, Kaira and Panch Mahals district, p 309 Burgess, *Muham-madan Architecture in Gujarat*, Part II (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series Report, Vol. VI), p 42, Marshall, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol III (Chapter XXIII The Monuments of Muslim India) pp 612 613, Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, Vol I, p 202

³ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol III, Kaira and Panch Mahals district, p 309 Burgess, *Muham-madan Architecture in Gujarat*, Part II (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series Report, Vol. VI), p 42, Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, Vol I, p 202

deciphering the texts which are inscribed on them in most intricately interlaced letters of the *Thulth* style of Arabic script. A little concentration on these tablets, though without my fully solving the puzzle of interlocked words and letters, left me in no doubt that while the writing on the tablet above the niche to the proper left of the central *mīhrāb* represents indeed a text from the *Qur'ān*, that on the other tablet above the niche to the proper right of the central *mīhrāb* could not be a text from the *Qur'ān* as has all these years been held to be the case. As the inscriptions on both the tablets are not in relief but are inlaid in black letters flush with the buff surface of the plaque, I had to content myself with a photographic copy of the inscription, the text of which I believed could not be a verse from the *Qur'ān*. This copy as reproduced in the plate attached to this article will show that the inscription it represents is arranged in two lines one above the other, while its text as transcribed below will make it quite clear that, comprising as it does four Persian couplets, it constitutes the genuine dated epigraph commemorating the completion of the construction of this mosque, which came about in 924 H (1524 A D) in the reign of Mahmūd Begra's son and successor Sultān Muzaffar Shāh II (1511-1525 A D), full ten years later than the date (914 H) hitherto accepted in consequence, on the one hand of relying on Briggs' distorted summary of the relevant portion of Firūṣṭa's account, as pointed out above, and on the other of regarding both the extant tablets in this mosque as inscribed only with some verses from the *Qur'ān*, without any attempt being made to see what exactly they stood for.

Plate V (b)

(۱) مسعد جامع رفیع بنا شد مرتب بعزل ر عون الله
 (۲) آنکه منشور کار او ر ازل یاد طعراى من دبی الله
 (۳) ار که ال علو محرابش منماید ر حرج عرّه ماه
 (۴) نهصد [و] نشت نا چهار دگر شمر ار هجرت رسول الله^۱

TRANSLATION

- (1) Jāmi' Masjid of sublime construction
Came to be completed by the grace and help of Allāh ,
- (2) Whereas the charter of its construction from the beginning
Bore the superscription Whosoever buildeth for God ,²
- (3) On account of its sublime height, its *mīhrāb*
Looks like the crescent in the sky ,
- (4) Nine hundred and twenty *plus* four
Reckon from the Hijra of the Apostle of Allāh

¹ I acknowledge my indebtedness to Principal M Shafi of the Oriental College, Lahore, for the kind help given in deciphering the text of this inscription

² Refers to the well known *Hadīth* of the Prophet *الحديث* الله له ديتا مى الله meaning " Whosoever buildeth for God a place of worship be it like a nest of a *qatāt* (a kind of bird) God buildeth for him a house in Paradise "

The date 924 H (1524 A D) recorded in the last couplet above settles once and for all the date of the final completion of the Jāmī' Masjid at Champaner, while the year 914 H hitherto accepted relates to the time of the installation of the pulpit in the central *mihāb*, which not improbably was set up earlier to allow of the religious service to be held as soon as possible, pending the completion of other parts of the building, which, judging from the inscription under notice took ten years more to complete after the pulpit was established in it, in 914 H. The pulpit, which must have been of extraordinary grace and elegance, is no more in its place, and may be assumed to have been removed by some vandal during the unsettled times that followed the disruption of Muslim sovereignty in these parts in 1727 A D.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM SHERPŪR, BOGRA DISTRICT, BENGAL

By MAULAVI SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD, M A, INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

In April 1938, the late Mr N G Majumdar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, was pleased to offer me an opportunity to visit the historical remains at Sherpūr and inspect two Persian inscriptions there, information about which was received by him some time ago. My visit to the place was of immense value by enabling me to study the records in the original with the aid of local conditions and environments. Babu Sailendranath Ghosh, Photographer of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, who accompanied me in the tour, kindly secured for me the estampages of the inscriptions and my thanks are due to him.

One of the two inscriptions was noticed by Dr Paul Horn in 1894¹, but as his reading of the text and the translation are exceedingly faulty and doubtful, I venture to publish afresh in this paper both the epigraphs, the second one of which the Doctor expressed his inability to decipher².

Sherpūr, the place where the inscriptions have been found, is situated on the west bank of the river Karatoya, at a distance of about 16 miles due south of Bogra, the headquarter town of the district and about a couple of miles from the present Sherpūr Municipality. It is mentioned by Abu'l-Fadl as Sherpūr Murcha, to distinguish it from another town of the same name in Mymensingh district which is popularly known as *Dashkahoria*, and is identified with the pargana Mihmānshāhī³.

Sherpūr being centrally situated in a northern district of Bengal, its importance was early felt by Sher Shāh, who conceived the idea of turning it into a strong military post; but the disturbance in the west and north-west parts of his realm called away his attention and the idea was left unrealised. During the transition period, when the province of Bengal was passing from the hands of the Bengal Sultāns to the Mughals, it became the refuge of rebels and outlaws. The refractory zemindars and nobles of the surrounding districts made Sherpūr their rendezvous, wherefrom they would issue forth against the suzerain power at opportune moments and recede when hard pressed. The town grew gradually in importance and in subsequent times became the scene of a series of events some of which are enumerated below.

In 1580 Akbar's erroneous policy of promulgating his new faith, Dīnī-Ilāhī and enforcing the Branding Regulation, coupled with his reducing by half the field service allowance of the army,⁴ created extreme discontent in the camp as well as among the masses. The

¹ *E I*, Vol II, pp 288-289

² *Ibid*, p 290

³ Jarett, *A'in-e-Akbarī*, p 138

⁴ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol IV p 125

situation in Bengal and Bihar took a serious turn and a section of the infatuated people openly decided on rebellion. Taking advantage of this confusing state of affairs the Qāqahālā, the Turk sief-holders of Ghorāghāt in Rangpur district, also rebelled. Mā'sūm Khān Kabulī, a former *jāgīrdār* under Akbar, turned against the latter and joined the Qāqahālā. He further joined hands with other rebels who had already occupied the stronghold of Sherpūr, which place they made the centre of activity.¹ Shāhibāz Khān, Governor of Bengal, was drafted by Akbar to suppress the rising and bring the affairs of Bengal under control. He accordingly arrived at the scene by a rapid march, inflicted a crushing defeat on Mā'sūm and his confederates, and dispersed them on the 26th November 1583.² After driving the rebels from the country he re-called the *amīrs* and loyal sief-holders and restored them to Sherpūr.

Shāhibāz Khān then began to regard the place as the most strategic situation, and mustering his forces and local grandees there, established a watch on the movements of the dispersed rebels. In the meantime Dāstam Khān Qīqahāl, the ring leader of the rebels, after their dispersal proceeded towards the north *en route* to Ghorāghāt, carrying on depredation in the districts that lay on his way, and finally invested Ghorāghāt. Babū'ī Mankālī, a federal *amīr*, was sent against him from the central force at Sherpūr. He defeated and killed Dāstam and recovered Ghorāghāt in 1585.³

After the defeat at Sherpūr Mā'sūm Khān fled to Pāthābād (Faridpur and part of Jessore District) and thence crossed over to Dacca and formed an alliance with Kedar Rai, who had already taken shelter with 'Isā Khān, one of the most intelligent and shrewd *Bhūmans* (zemindar-) of Bengal. The union of the three forces of Mā'sūm, Kedar Rai and 'Isā Khān formed a formidable body, which swept over the whole area from Dacca right up to the neighbourhood of Sherpūr. In 1595, Raja Mān Singh, who was then Governor of Bengal, marched out from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), which place he had chosen for the seat of his government, and met the rebels. The enemy unable to resist the imperial army, crossed the Brahmaputra and surrendered all the possessions they had captured on the west of the river. On account of the approach of the rains Raja Mān Singh decided to encamp at Sherpūr, and built a fort there which he named Salīm-nagar in honour of prince Salīm, afterwards the emperor Jahāngīr.⁴

In 1042 H (1632 A D) i.e., in the early years of Shāh Jahān, one Mu'a'zzam Khān had erected a congregational (جامع) mosque at Sherpūr. This and other archaeological evidence show that Sherpūr was in the zenith of its prosperity in the reign of Shāh Jahān. With the decline of the Mughal power in India, the glory of Sherpūr seems to have been on the wane. The town was apparently abandoned for unknown reasons about the end of the 18th or early in the 19th century. It has now become a dense forest inhabited by wild beasts and speckled with old shrines, mosques and a few other historical remains.

There is no explicit mention in any historical record of the person who laid the foundation and peopled the town of Sherpūr. The foregoing evidence however goes to show that Sherpūr was already an established city in the early period of Akbar's reign. It is not unreasonable therefore to suppose that the town was actually founded either by Sher Shāh himself, as the name denotes, or by one of his lieutenants who caused it to be called after his master's name. Similar examples of founding a number of towns in his name and renaming the old ones are not wanting

¹ Akbarnama Vol III, p 418

² Cambridge History of India, Vol IV, p 132

³ Akbarnama, Vol IV, p 463

⁴ Akbarnama, Vol III, p 697

⁵ E I Vol II, p 290

in the pages of contemporary history Sher Shāh laid, for instance, the foundation of another Sherpūr in Birbhūm district, 16 miles due west of Qasimbazar,¹ Murshidabad and renamed old cities, e.g. Shergarh for Delhi, Qannauj, Shaqqī Bakr in Sind and so on.²

The two epigraphs that are being edited in the present paper have been found fixed in the front wall, each on one side of the central entrance leading to the prayer-chamber of a mosque locally called Kherua mosque, now in ruins at Sherpūr. The inscription on the left slab indicates that the sanctuary was built by Mirza Murād Khān son of Jauhar 'Alī Khān Qāqshāl on the 25th Dhu'l-hijja, 989 H (20th January, 1582).

The mosque is situated about a mile west of the Karatoya river. It measures 60 feet by 16 feet inside and the thickness of the walls is 6 feet. At each corner there stands a massive pillar decorated with carved bricks.

Excepting these corner pillars the structure presents a simple style without much ornamentation, but the building is crowned with three domes. The prayer-hall can be approached from the east by three entrances pierced in the front wall, and from the north and south by doorways opened in the walls on those sides. It is remarkable to note that no trace of door-jambs or lintels is observed in them.

The mosque has been long abandoned and is covered all over with trees, some of which have struck root in it and in consequence several fissures have appeared in the walls and domes of the shrine.

Murād Khān, the builder of this mosque, was a Turk who claimed descent from the Qāqshāl family. These Qāqshāls seem to have emigrated to Bengal in the early days of the Mughal supremacy in India. They were apparently divided into two groups, one of which settled in Ghorāghāt, which pargana was assigned to them after the conquest of Bengal by Akbar. The leader of this group was Majnūn Khān, who was succeeded on his death by Bābū'ī Qāqshāl then an aged man.³ The other group on the other hand, preferred their home at Sherpūr Murcha and followed the lead of Jauhar 'Alī Khān and on his death, of Murād Khān. The Qāqshāls seemed to have all along been loyal to the Mughal sovereigns, but during the rising that pervaded throughout Bengal, on account of Akbar's enforcing the unhappy Branding Measure, the Qāqshāls of Ghorāghāt under Bābū'ī cast their lot with the rebels as mentioned above. They further joined with Mā'sūm Kabulī, the terror of Bengal, and brought untold misery upon the people as well as on the imperial army. The Qāqshāls of Sherpūr, however, adhered to the suzerain power and were never led away by the intrigue of the mischief-mongers. In recognition of his merit and good services to Akbar, Murād Khān received in 988 H (1580 A.D.) the distinction of 'Khān' and was elevated to the rank of one thousand horse.⁴ He moreover rendered many valuable services to Shāhbāz Khān and Raja Mān Singh respectively in suppressing the disaffection caused by the cohesion of Mā'sūm Khān's army with those of Kedar Rai and 'Isa Khān, the most powerful and terrible among the Bhurans of East Bengal.

The inscription slabs have been pierced in the centre, the perforation in the one is rectangular and in the other vase-shaped. The texts which enclose the central hole are carved in raised letters on black slabs of stone. The one on the left side measures, across the inscribed face, 4 feet 2 inches by 2 feet 3 inches, and the other on the right, 3 feet 3 inches by 2 feet 2 inches. The epigraph on the left slab consists altogether of 14 lines, excluding the head line invocation. The first two lines indicate the name of the donor and the date of founding the

¹ Qanungo's *Sher Shah*, p. 173 footnote

² *Ibid.*, p. 383

³ *Mā'at̤h̤irū'l-Umarā*, Eng. trans., p. 335

⁴ *Albarnama*, p. 304

mosque, and the remaining lines contain the parable of two pigeons that approached the custodian of the mosque, Faqir 'Abdus Šamad, with a prayer to permit them to take shelter in it. The inscription on the right slab comprises 11 lines in all and gives pious instruction on charity, enumerating some practical ways of attaining immortality.

It is interesting to note that, unlike records dedicated on similar occasions, the present epigraphs begin abruptly with the subject matter without any prelude such as suitable quotations from the *Qur'ān* or *Hadith*. It is all the more peculiar that even the preliminary verse *بسم الله* has been omitted here. These peculiarities may be provisionally accounted for by supposing that the liberty of thought introduced by Akbar in matters of religion and the consequent relaxation in the observance of time honoured practice thereof are responsible for such departure from usual custom.

The inscriptions are written in beautiful *Nasikh* characters, the language being Persian. The absence of necessary dots on letters renders the study of the epigraphs immensely difficult. My reading of the texts of inscriptions is given below. —

(1) Inscription on the left slab—

یا مظهر العجاایب

Lines

(1) معایبه روز در شده ۲۵ ماه در الحج سنه ۹۸۹

(2) ناسعاب دراب مرزا میراد خان مسجد آغار کرد درین روز

(3) سه سنه ۲۴ در حال قریب (۶) مسجد معانیل (۶) و پدر عبدالصمد در کدوتر

(4) سترام از هوا فرود آمدند و سلام کردند و بعد از منارکنایی عرص

(5) بودند (کردند) که از مکه منارکدم نام رئیس (۶) و ولاء (ولاح) داریم برای ما و اصحاب ما درین

(6) مسجد اشیانه حکم حراهدد فرمود فقیر گف در آن نه اما مسجد

(7) حورن منادا از مردم زمانه حش حفا درسد گفند هر که دند

(8) و دانسته حراهد رساند درو در حراهد رسید زیاده ازین

(9) از راعب العناایب معلوم گردن العرص سالام

(10) کردند و در هوا شدند حدواں غیر باطعه را اعدمان نه

(11) بعد اتمام مسجد و اهدام عرص نه که بیچاره کدولان

(12) بحفایش ندایند

(13) Left wing این مسجد بنا کرده علیشان رفیع میراد خان

(14) Right wing این حورر علیخان فاضال

SCALE 125

SCALE 125

SCALE 125

SCALE 125

SCALE 125

SCALE 125

SCALE 125

SCALE 125

SCALE 125

TRANSLATION

O the Manifester of wonders ! Observation on Monday the 25th Dhu'l-hijja, 989 H (20th January, 1582) with the aid of Nawāb Mirzā Murād Khān, (the construction of) the mosque commenced On the 2nd day, Tuesday, the 26th of the present month, two green pigeons flew down from the air and perched in the vicinity of the mosque and appearing before Faqīr Abdus-Saniād made obeisance to him After finishing the blessing of welcome, they (the pigeons) said "We are coming from holy Mecca and greet the name and prosperity of the lord We implore a shelter in this mosque for ourselves as well as for our friends" The Faqīr answered "Why not? but the mosque is small and, heaven forbid that any violence from the people of the time should come upon you" They said "Whoever intentionally and knowingly should cause it, will in return receive the same, (but) he will feel more from the Dispenser of favours (God)" They then saluted and disappeared An answer from an inarticulate being cannot be regarded as possible The object of story was that after the completion of the mosque and its arrangement the poor pigeons should not be molested

This mosque was built by the exalted and high Murād Khān, son of Jauhar 'Alī Khān Qāshī

(II) Inscription on the right slab—

الله

Lines

(1) ابتدائے (5)

(2) می آید هر که خواهد که بعد مریدان در آید و نام بکند در و بکشد مدد آید بکشد
ار مسجد و حوض و مناره و ناع

(3) و امثال آن در حوض آل گوشه نشینان که اگر گذرگاه حلا در آن آید آن رما یادگار بود - و باشد که
نوکاله آن در اوقات شریف و ساعت مرحومه (مسعود)

(4) بنظر عذاب اسنان (5) نگردد - و بیکرعه اند

بمرد آنک، ماند نس از وے بکاهی پل و مسجد و حوض و مهمانسرای
(5) هر آنکو ماند نس از یادگار در حوض و حوضش بنارون نار
و گریب و آثار حوض ماند بساید پس از مرگش الحکم حواد

(6) از پند سلیم ابواللیث سمرقندی - پنج حیرت که بعد مرید همیشه ثواب می بوسند - قرآن
نکشد و علم نس داده (5) و آب کندی و مسجد برآورده

(7) و درج نشاده والسلام

(8) مکرر حوض در ۲۶ روز آغاز مسجد در کدو

(9) از مکه مبارک آمده بعد از لباس آشفته در پی مسجد

(10) کرده . الله در اسماء آشفته حراعت آمد

(11) امدی که کس اندا برساند و الدعاء

TRANSLATION

To begin with It is narrated that whoever desires that he may be counted, after his death, among the living ones and that people may remember him with respect, and help him with blessings, should try to (a) build a mosque, (b) excavate a tank, (c) erect a minar, (d) lay out a garden, or (e) do other good work such as give charity to the needy if he happens to pass by his cell. These works will survive him as his memorials. It is moreover likely that through their agency, he, in some auspicious and pious moment, may fall into the favour of a worthy man. And also it is said "The man is not dead who leaves behind him a bridge or a mosque or a tank, or a shelter for way-farers. If no memorial outlives a person, the tree of his existence has not, as it were, borne fruit. If a man passes away and no trace of any good deed remains after him we should not recite 'Al-hamdo' (Praise be to God) on his death." Of the admonitions of Shaykh Abu'l-Layth Samargandī is the following —

"There are five things the rewards of which are ever recorded in the name of the doer after his death, (a) To give the *Qur'ān* in charity, (b) to teach religion, (c) to excavate a tank, (d) to erect a mosque and (e) to plant a tree, and peace."

P S—As on the 26th, the day of the commencement of the mosque, two pigeons came from holy Mecca and implored the permission of the Faqir to take shelter in the mosque, they after its completion, may re-appear and ask for shelter. It is hoped that none will persecute them, and that they may receive blessing.

MUSLIM INSCRIPTIONS FROM BHONRASA, GWALIOR STATE

By RAM SINGH SAKSENA

Bhonrasa (24° 8' E and 78° 4' N.), though a decaying town, is still the headquarters of the Tappa (Sub-Tahsil) in the Bhilsa district of the Gwalior State. The nearest railway stations are Kethora and Bamora on the Delhi-Bombay main line of the G I P Railway. Bhonrasa is about 6½ miles from Bamora by a road which runs up to Seronj. A feeder road from Kethora joins the Bamora Seronj road at the 5th mile of this road. The Bhilsa-Pachhar road which joins the Agra-Bombay trunk road also touches Bhonrasa, the distance between Bhonrasa and Deharda on the Agra-Bombay road being about ninety-six miles.

The town of Bhonrasa is situated on a rocky eminence between the Markande stream and the river Betwa, the former joining the Betwa about a furlong and a half below the town. As usual with places of antiquity, Bhonrasa also enjoys the tradition of being a very ancient site, and there the great sage Markande is said to have performed one of his services. A small *kunda* about three miles to the south west of the town and fed by a perennial spring, is still considered to be the favourite spot of the Markande Rishi. The spring water after replenishing the *kunda* joins the adjacent water-shed and becomes a rivulet, which derives its name from this Rishi and is known as the Markande river,

Apart from the traditions it is certain that the locality was once a great centre of the Hindu religion, for about a mile to the north of the present town of Bhonrasa, on a low hillock, lie the ruins of a group of temples of the 10th to 11th centuries. The temples have a tank in their close vicinity which has silted up now and the area covered by the 'ruins' is occupied by a grave-yard, known as the Bandi Bāgh.

According to another tradition, the town was founded by one Raja Bhanwar Singh and named after him. This Raja is said to have been a feudatory chief of the rulers of the historic province of Chanderi, but the fact has not so far been confirmed.

Be that as it may, it is certain that the ancient town to which the above mentioned Hindu ruins belonged ceased to exist before the present town of Bhonrasa was founded, apparently by Muslim kings in the 14th century A.D. The old trunk road from Delhi to the Deccan passed through this area, and Bhonrasa being situated near the bank of the river Betwa served as a strategic post of defence, which fact seems to have been responsible for the establishment of a military camp here during the reigns of the Sultāns of Malwa and their governors at Chanderi. Later on it seems to have been converted into a halting place on the royal road and with the construction of the present fort under the Mughals a regular town grew up here. It is also probable that the officers in charge of the town in due course grew so powerful as to defy the authority of the governors at Chanderi and to style themselves as governors. This air of superiority is to be scented in the inscriptions and also in the lofty mosques and mausoleums which were built by them.

With the decline of the Muslim rule Bhonrasa seems to have been successfully held by the Bundela Rajas of Chanderi and the Khūhī Rajput rulers of Bajrangadh till the Marathas took it finally towards the middle of the 18th century. They hold it to this day.

In Muslim records Bhonrasa finds frequent mention and is described as a *qasba* in the *sarhār* (district) of Chanderi. Bhonrasa is also called a town in various inscriptions on the monuments in the town. I have not come across any descriptive account of Bhonrasa in the records at my disposal, but only the bare mention of the name of the town as referred to above. This has made it difficult to throw any light on the true history of the town or the various personages named in the inscriptions under notice.

The inscriptions studied below belong to the Muslim period and may roughly be arranged in three groups, viz—(a) the town inscriptions (b) the Bada Bāgh inscriptions and (c) the Bandi Bāgh inscriptions. They have been recently discovered by the Archaeological Department of Gwalior State, and are being edited for the first time by the courtesy of the said Department.

GROUP A—INSCRIPTIONS IN THE TOWN

No 1—*Inscription on a stone post near the main gate of the fort*

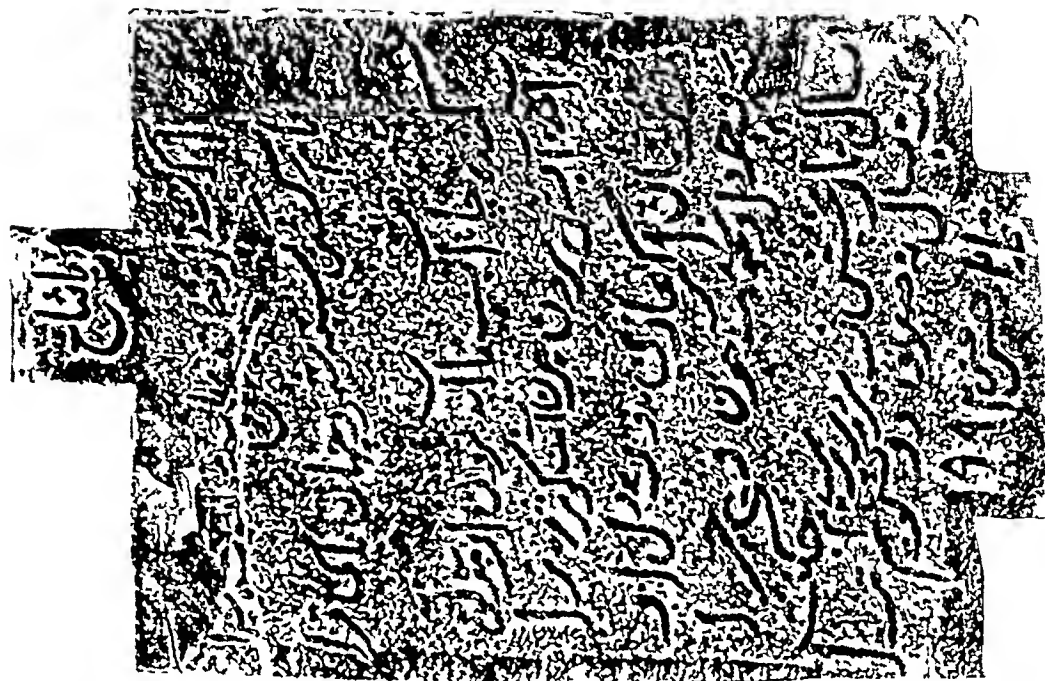
This fragmentary inscription is the oldest so far found at Bhonrasa. It is inscribed on a stone-post fixed at present near the main gate of the fort. The inscribed surface measures 3' 9" by 0' 11". The inscription is bilingual, the text in each language comprising fourteen long or short lines. The text at the top is in Persian, the characters being *Naskhī*. The inscription in the lower part is in Hindi with a few words in defective Sanskrit and the script is Deva Nāgarī of a late period. The style of writing of the record is crude in both languages. As the inscriptional stone is damaged in several places it is difficult to decipher the text in full.

(a) Inscription of Ghiyathu'd-Din Khalji of Malwa
from Bhoniara, Gwalior State



SCALE 1/25

(b) Inscription of Akbar from the same place



SCALE 2

- 4 . the exalted Khān Sher Khān, the fief-holder . . .
 5 . province of Chanderi, the *ḡīzya*, the hunters' tax,
 the police tax
 6 . . . Bhonrasa (and its) suburbs . . . *baqqāl* (the grocer)
 7 the grocers and artisans
 8 from the current year onward
 9 . . .
 10 . . .
 11 Muslim and Hindu from the *ḡīzya*, the hunters' tax, the
 police tax
 12 if he is Muslim
 13 . . . if he is an infidel . . . from his infidelity....
 14 . . . cow . . . action. . . .

HINDI VERSION

Plate VII (a)

- १ [सि]धे[धि] संवतु [त] १५४० वर्षे फाल्गुण बदि ५
 २ [वु]धे वासरे महाराज[जा]धिराज श्रीसु[लतान]
 ३ गय[या] स साहि राजे[ज्ये] चदेरो देसे
 ४ रि खान वर्तते कसवे भौरासे
 ५ पूजा भेटा[ट] व [?] काल सहन गी
 ६ ए जे [?] गीयाय [स] सह, मगाए य म [?]
 ७ कारो व का जा [?] व व समरा ता
 ८ ह तर्का कसवे भौरासे के इ
 ९ स क्षी साह पिता मद [?] क से [?] मा
 १० ए कोई फुजदार हो सव मा
 ११ स पोल थी किरै हिंदू [हिंदू] होई ति[वु]
 १२ [गी] मारे की पाए मसलमान हो [ई]
 १३ ति सकहु सुवर की सीह सु [भ]
 १४ भवतु-

TRANSLATION

- 1 Victory, in the year 1540 [V S] month Phalguna
dark (half) 5th (date)
- 2 the day (being) Wednesday (in the reign of) Mahārāj-
dhīraj Shri Sultān
- 3 Ghuyth Shāh lord of Chanderi province
- 4 Bhonrasa town
- 5 6 (for) worship and offering
- 7-8 town Bhonrasa
- 9-10 whoever be the Commander . .
- 11 if he be Hindu will be
- 12 Culpable of the sin of killing cows, (if he) be a Muslim . .
- 13 (for him) is bear oath
- 14 (So it) be

No 2—Inscription on an old well inside the fort

This well has been hewn in the living rock, and the little structural work done on the top is in ruins now. This inscription is carved in relief on a tablet measuring 2 ft 1 in by 1 ft 5 in. The epigraph consists of ten lines and the style of writing is *Nast'aliq* of a crude type. The language is Persian and the inscription, which is in verse¹, refers to the construction of a well by order of the Mughal Emperor Akbar the Great in 992 H (1581 A.D.). The date is given both in words and figures. The inscription also mentions the name of one Umar Husain who composed the record.

My reading of the text is given below —

Plato VII (b)

یا فتاح

(۱) شد از حان حایل سرا

(۲) نام گشتن (۹) مشهور حایل سرا

(۳) کده حاء آب تا آید درون

(۴) آمده آتش درون چون آب کوثر

(۵) در زمان اکثر عاری در در عدل، از

(۶) خوش است چون و خرا

(۷) سال تاریخش، ریزش (۹) پرسددم به گف

(۸) گف سال ده صد و در گویم ترا

(۹) قایم عمر حسین ۹۹۲

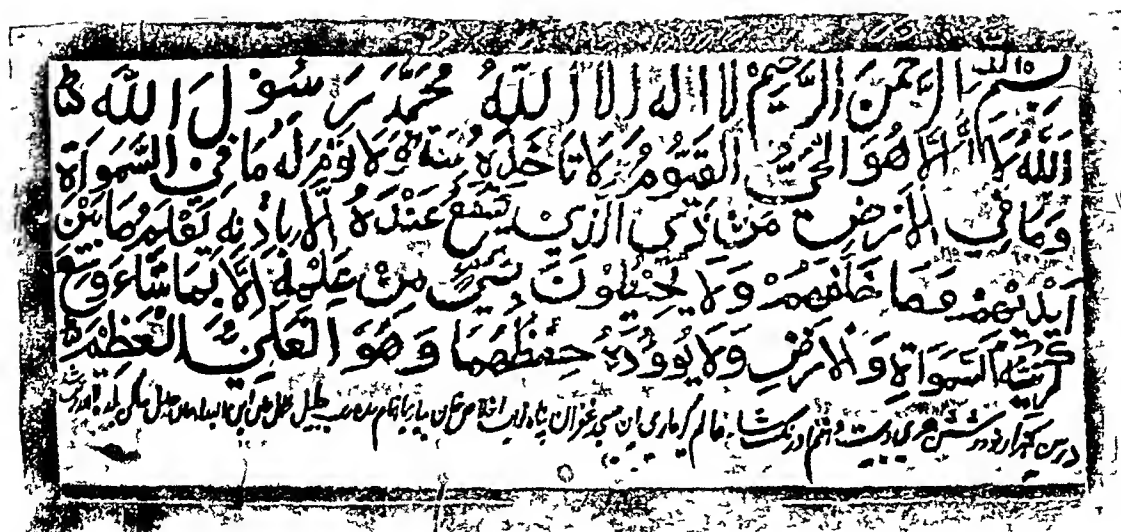
¹ The metre of the verse is بحر متون محذوف رفوع

(a) Inscription on the Markande Gate, Bhonrasa Fort, Gwalior State.



SCALE 166

(b) Inscription of Aurangzeb from a mosque at Bhonrasa



SCALE 2

TRANSLATION

O Opener!

- 1 an act of grace by the great Khān (?)
 2 to make his name famous in the world
 3 (caused) to be hewn (in rock) a well
 4 (and thus) water gushed out . . . like the water of Kauthar
 5 During the just rule of Akbar the victorious
 6 delightful without why or wherefor
 7 I asked the Pleiades for the date They said,
 8 “(was) dug in the year nine hundred ninety two, I tell thee”
 9 -Composed by 'Umar Husain 992 H. (1584 A D)

No 3—Inscription on the Markande Gate in the outer ramparts of the fort

This inscription records the construction of the Fort of Bhonrasa by one Hasan Khān during the reign of Akbar in 1594 A D The Markande Gate, on which the inscription is set up, is a gate in the outer walls of the fort It faces the south and is called Markande on account of the streamlet which it overlooks

The inscription, which is set in a niche over the gate, measures 2 ft 6 in by 2 ft 4 in and consists of ten lines of Persian verse¹ The style of writing is Naskh My reading of the text is as follows —

Plate VIII (a)

اسپد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

الله

تاریخ نامه قلعه بهونراسه

- (۱) در عهد نادرشاه هفت کشور حلالدین محمد شاه اکثر
 (۲) هزار و سه ر صدوت دود آن سال مرتب گسند این قلعه مدور
 (۳) حسن حال مسند عالی بنای کرد تا ریب - (۴) و ریزر
 (۴) حوالمدی که تا همب شجاع خو ستر حور هژر بر دلادر
 (۵) همدشه عمر حال و حمله فرزد ر احوان اقربا و یار لشکر
 (۶) پناه مسلمانان کرد اس حای حراک در دنیا ر آخر
 (۷) ر تاریخس حرد چون ناع گفند حساب اسعد خوانی و نگر
 (۸) که از مدعی حذف این

¹ The metre of the verso is ممدس محدوت and the date found from the chronogram is 1003 H (1594 A D)

TRANSLATION

I confess that there is no god but God, (Who is) one (and has) no partner.

God The record (of the) fort (of) Bhonrasa

- 1 During the reign of the king of seven climes, Jalālud-Dīn Muhammad Shāh Akbar;
- 2 One thousand and three was the Hijri year when this circular fort was completed
- 3 Hasan Khān of exalted rank built this beautiful and ornate (edifice)
- 4 Tho young man (Hasan Khān) who in courage and valour is like a tiger or a lion
- 5 'Umar Khān and all his (Hasan Khān's) sons and his brothers, relatives and friends constitute his army
- 6 (He) made the place the refuge of Muslims, may God reward him in this world as well as in the next!
- 7 For its chronogram Wisdom suggested the word *Bāgh* (garden) calculate the numerical value of the word according to the *Abjad* system and determine the date
- 8 From Fathī alas

No 4—Inscription on the Jagirdār's mosque

This mosque is situated outside the fortifications of the town, but being not far from it the inscription has been included in the town group. The mosque was constructed by some Jagirdār whose name or family connections are not known now. The building has no other attraction than the inscription, which is fixed in the middle of the back-wall of the prayer-hall. The text is carved in relief on a tablet which measures 3 ft 8½ in by 10 in.

TEXT

(۱) یا حافظ لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

یا حافظ سنہ ۱۰۹۴

(۲ - ۴) آئینہ الکرسی ۵ سنہ ۲۴ اورنگ شاہی

TRANSLATION

- 1 O Protector! There is no god but God and Muhammad is the apostle of God. In the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate! O Protector! year 1094 H (1683 A D)
- 2-4 Throne verse *Qur'ān*, ch II, v 256, year 24 (Regnal) of Aurang(zeb's) rule.

GROUP B—MONUMENTS IN BADA BĀGH

No 5—Inscription over the mihrāb in the Great Mosque in Bada Bāgh

From the prominent position this inscription occupies, it is apparent that it has belonged to this mosque from the beginning. It is cut in relief in a bordered panel measuring 2 ft 5 in. by 1 ft 1 in. and consists of six lines. The first five lines are written in *Nasikh* characters and contain holy texts. The last line is in the *Nastā'liq* style and the text refers to the construction of a mosque by Nawāb Ikhlas Khān in the reign of Aurangzeb in 1096 H (1685 A D). As Nawāb Ikhlas Khān's name is mentioned in other inscriptions of the place it appears that he was an important official under the Mughals.

The inscription also mentions the name of one Kamāl Khān of Lahore who seems to have been a minor official under Nawāb Ikhlas Khān.

Plate VIII (b)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ۞ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

(۲ - ۵) آية الكرسي

(۶) درسی بکھرار بود و شش هجری و بس و هجتم از رنگ ساه عالم گدرا عاری

این مسجد عفران پناه دیوار احلاص حال نهاد [ر] ناهم نام دند رب حلال کمال حال

این الهدان حال ساکن دنده لاهور مرتب سد ۰

TRANSLATION

- 1 The *Bismilla* and the Islāmic creed
 2-5 Throne verse, *Qur'ān*, ch 2, v 256
 6 In the year one thousand ninety-six Hīrī and twenty-seventh (regnal year of) Aurang(zeb) Shāh, the conquerer of the world, the victorious, this mosque of Nawāb Ikh̄lās Khān, who is resting in Paradise, was completed under the supervision of the (humble) servant of God, Kamāl Khān son of Alahdād Khān, now residing in the city of Lahore

Nos 6-8—*Three inscriptions from the Great Mosque, Bada Bāgh*

These three inscriptions are also set up in the Great mosque, but as their calligraphy is different from that of inscription No 4 they may have originally belonged to another mosque or a mausoleum and may have been put up here after the decay of the latter. Two of these inscriptions contain only religious texts but the third contains two Persian verses referring to the transitoriness of the world. The latter inscription apparently belongs to a mausoleum. The religious texts of the first two inscriptions are as follows —

Inscription No 6¹

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(۱) اَشْهَدُ اَنْ لَا اِلَهَ اِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ

(۲) وَاَشْهَدُ اَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ

(۴) حراج و مسجد و محراب و منبر ادوکر و عمر عثمان و حیدر

TRANSLATION

In the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate !

- 1-2 The Islāmic creed
 3 Abū Bakr, 'Umar, Uthmān and Haidar are the lamp, the mosque, the prayer-niche and the pulpit of the Islāmic religion

¹The tablet on which inscription No 6 is carved measures 2 ft by 1 ft 2½ in

Inscription No 7.¹

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(۱) سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَلَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ

(۲) أَكْبَرُ وَلَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ

TRANSLATION

In the name of God the most Merciful and Compassionate!

1-2 God is holy and all praise is due unto Him there is no god but God God is Great, and no one has strength and power except God the High and Great.

Inscription No 8 has been deciphered as follows: —

Plato IX (n)

(۱) پد . . . [د] ل دریں دنیا کہ روزی چند مهمانی

چونکہ مر [گ] پدش آید خوری ا . . . م پشیمانی

ربردستی [؟] ریں مریدان ربر دستاں را

(۲) کہ چون وقتی اجل آید یعین دانی کہ درمانی

TRANSLATION

- 1 Do not love (?) this world, for thou art a guest in this world for a few days, when suddenly death comes thou shalt feel sorry,
- 2 (O!) powerful (?) do not oppress the weak because when the time of death will come thou shalt feel helpless

No 9—Inscription on another mosque in Bada Bāgh

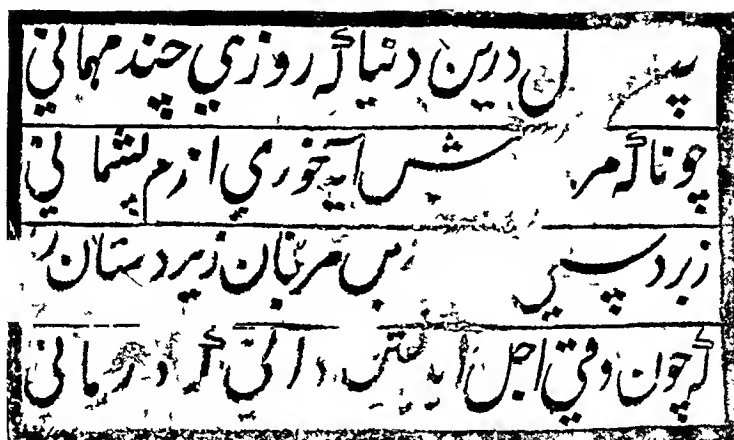
This inscription is carved on the western wall of a mosque situated in the vicinity of the Bada Bāgh. The mosque is an insignificant building, and as the inscription mentions the name of Aurangzeb, it apparently belongs to some other building and not to this mosque.

The inscriptional tablet measures 1 ft 10½ in by 10 in and bears seven lines of writing, of which the first five are in *Nasāḥ* characters and the remaining two in the *Nastā'liq* script. The sixth line mentions the completion of the mosque during the reign of Aurangzeb on the 19th of Dhū'l Hajj in 1095 H (1683 A D).

¹ The tablet of inscription No 7 measures 2 ft by 1 ft 2½ in

² The tablet on which this inscription is carved measures 2 ft 2 in by 1 ft 5 in.

(a) Inscription from a mosque at Bhonrasa, Gwalior State



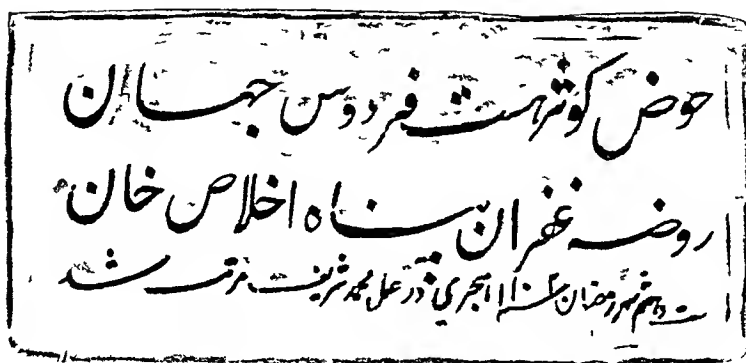
SCALE 166

(b) Inscription from another mosque at Bhonrasa



SCALE 25

(c) Inscription from a well at Bhonrasa



SCALE 166

I have deciphered the text as follows —

Plate IX (b)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ الرَّسُولُ اللَّهُ

(۲-۵) آیه الکرسی

(۶) فی التاریخ نوردهم شهر دی الحکمه سنه ۱۰۹۵ در عمل اورنگ شاه عالم گدردشاه عاری مرتب سد

(۷) آه هرکه که سده در بساں دمدنی که خوش ندی دلمس

نگذر ای دوست نا بوقت بهار سده ندی دمیده برگل من

TRANSLATION

1 *Bismillah* and the Islāmic creed

2 5 The Throne verse *Qur'ān*, ch II, v 256

6 Completed on the 19th of the month of *Dhu'l-Hajj* in the year 1095 during the reign of Aurang(zeb) Shāh, 'Ālamgīr, the emperor

7 Alas! the sprouting of the green grass in the garden made my heart happy,
Friend! visit my tomb, for in spring thou shalt see the green grass growing on my ashes

No 10—*Inscription on the wall of a well in the Bada Bāgh*

The inscription is carved on a tablet which is fixed to the inner masonry of the well. The tablet measures 2 ft. by 11½ in. The style of writing is *Nastā'liq* of an elegant type, resembling the style of inscriptions 6 and 8. The record consists of three lines, the first two contain a Persian verse and the last gives the date of the completion of the well. In the Persian verse the mausoleum of *Ikhlas Khān* the Governor, has been mentioned, and the well was apparently built as an adjunct to it.

My reading of the text is as follows —

Plate IX (c)

حوض کوثر هسب فردوس جهان

روضة عقران پناه احلاص جان

سب و هضم شهر رمضان سنه ۱۱۰۲ هجرى در عمل محمد شريف مرتب شد

TRANSLATION

Verse

This well is like *Kauthar* (a stream of Paradise), while the mausoleum of *Ikhlas Khān*, who has taken refuge in Divine forgiveness, is the Paradise of this world.

(On the) twenty-seventh of the month of Ramazān (in the) year 1102 H (1691 A.D.) under the supervision of Muhammad Sharif this was completed.

GROUP C—MONUMENTS IN THE BANDĪ BĀGH

Bandī Bāgh is situated on a rock eminence about a mile to the north east of the town. The ruins of some old Hindu temples and a tank are in the close vicinity. It is only a graveyard now, but the name Bandī Bāgh suggests that originally a garden existed here. In the Bandī Bāgh there is a large number of mosques, the most important of which are named the Bārā Khambī, the Bandī Wālī, the Bina Neokī, the Ek Khambī and the Qalandarī. Two of these mosques have inscriptions which refer to the reign of Shāhjahān, the Mughal Emperor. At the Bandī Bāgh there is also a fine mausoleum, and many graves with fine plaster work. One of these graves is called the Hāthī Qahr¹, and it is reported that an elephant was buried therein.

Inscription on a mosque known as Bina Neokī Masjid

The mosque, as its name² indicates, has no foundations and it has been built on a rock which has hardly been chiselled for the structure. The inscription is carved on a tablet measuring 3 ft 2 in by 7½ in. The tablet has been divided into three panels, the middle contains the *Bismilla* and the Islāmic creed with two Persian verses recording the building of a mosque in 1050 H (1640 A D). The two side panels contain only religious texts. The style of writing is *Nasikh* of a crude type. The text has been read by me as follows —

Plato X (a)

Right panel

- (۱) چراغ مسجد معمر [ب] منبر
 (۲) نردیت ان عتفک [اعتفک] می خدا المسجد مات وده
 (۳) قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
 (۴) المومنين في المسجد كالسمك
 (۵) می الماء صدق رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

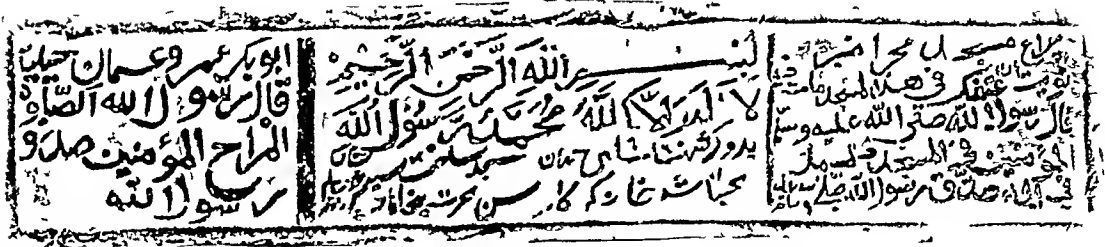
Middle panel

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 (۲) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 (۳) نذر شهشا شاهي جهان مسجد ساخت
 (۴) محيا [مهيا] شد خانه کرد [د] کار سن هجرت پنجاه و نهمزار

¹ Cf Horse tomb at Chanderi and Dog tomb at Kheda in Gwalior State

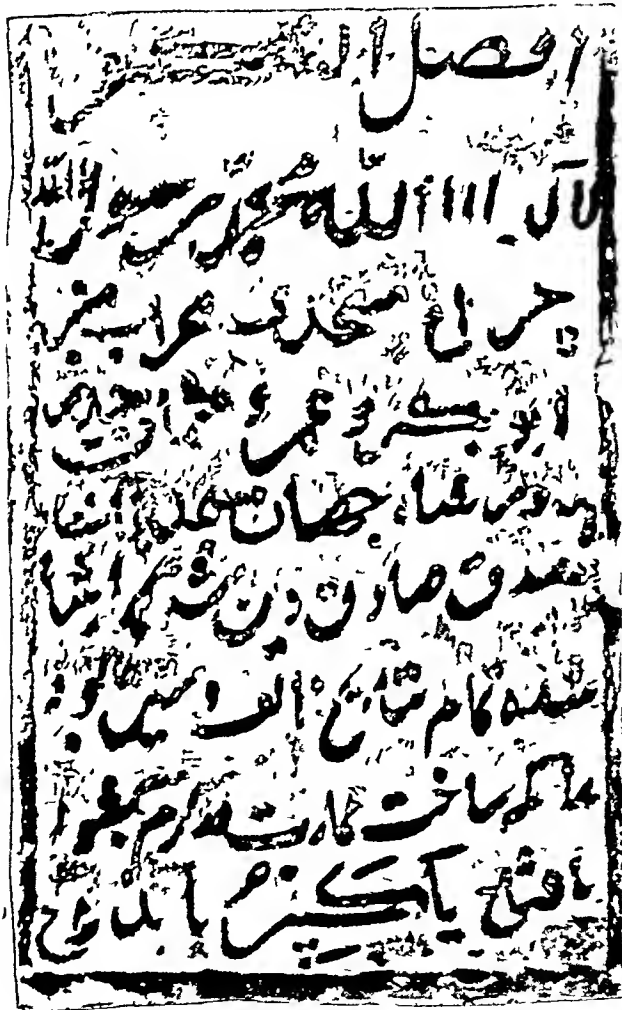
² Cf *Bina Neokī Masjid* at Ujjain and its inscription in the *I A*, Vol. LVI.

(a) Inscription from a mosque at Bhonrasa, Gwalior State



SCALE • 142

(b) Inscription from another mosque at Bhonrasa



SCALE 33

Left panel

(۱) ابو بکر و عمر و عثمان حیدر

(۲) قال رسول الله الصلوة

(۳) المراج [المعراج] اليوم من صدق

(۴) رسول الله

TRANSLATION

Right panel

- 1 The lamp, mosque, prayer-niche and pulpit
- 2 I resolved to sit in the mosque died in this(?)
- 3 The Prophet of God, may God's blessings and peace be on him, has said :
- 4 " The believers in a mosque are like the fish (in water) "
- 5 Truly hath said the apostle of God, may God's blessings and peace be on him.

Middle panel

- 1 In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
- 2 There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the apostle of God.
- 3 In the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, the mosque was built
- 4 The house of God was built in the Hujrī year 1050 (1640 A D)

Left panel

- 1 Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and Ḥaḍar ,
- 2 The apostle of God has said " The prayer
- 3 4 is a ladder (to heaven) for the believers " Truly (hath said) the apostle of God

No 12—Inscription on the *Bandī Wālī* mosque

This mosque, like the garden, is called after the '*Bandī*' whose name and life can not be ascertained now. The inscriptional slab measures 1 ft 3 in by 9 in. The letters are cut in relief and the text is enclosed by a border $\frac{1}{2}$ in wide. The record consists of nine lines written in *Naskh* characters. The two top lines and the bottom line contain the holy names of God and the *Kalima*. The remaining portion of the inscription is in Persian verse, mentioning the completion of the mosque in the year 1050 H (1640 A D) during the reign of Shāh Jahān, the Mughal emperor. This inscription seems to have been engraved by an illiterate mason who is responsible for this bad and perhaps inaccurate reproduction.

My reading of the text and the translation of it are given below.—

Plate X (b)

اصل الذكر

(۱)

(۲) لا [ا] له الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۳) چراغ و مسجد و محراب منبر

(۴) ابو بکر و عمر و عثمان حیدر

(۵) ددر شاه جہاں مسعد نا صفا

(۶) صدی صادق دس شد . . .

(۷) سده تمام بتاریخ الف حمسن [۶] بود

(۸) ددانکہ صاحب عمارت در کریم نکشود

(۹) یا ملج یا کنر یا درج

TRANSLATION

- 1 The best recitation
- 2 The Islāmic creed
- 3 The lamp, mosque, pulpit and prayer-niche
- 4 Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and Haidar (respectively)
- 5 During the reign of Shāh Jahān, this sacred mosque
- 6 (Was built) through the faith of the sincere believer . . .
- 7 It was completed in the year 1050 H (1640 A D)
- 8 With the construction of this edifice, the gate of benevolence was opened
- 9 O Opener ! O Great ! O Marvellous !

There are two more inscriptions at Bhonrasa which I mention in order to complete the survey of the inscriptions there. One of them (No 13) is carved on the rock-wall of a well near the Mātā's temple. It measures 1 ft 2 in by 8½ in and comprises 12 lines. Three of them are in Deonāgarī script and the rest in Persian and Arabic characters. The style of writing is crude. The inscription records the building of the well by some Revenue official in the year 1246 H or v s 1887 (?) 1830 A D.

Inscription No 14 is carved above the middle niche of the 'Idgāh of Bhonrasa which is a modern structure. The inscription is incised on a tablet measuring 1 ft 7½ in by 1 ft 3½ in. There are six lines of writing in the *Nasikh* characters. In the beginning there is a religious text and afterwards three lines of Persian verse, mentioning the name Fādl 'Alī Khān who repaired the 'Idgāh in 1329 H (1911 A D).

TWO PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM DHAMONI, SAUGOR DISTRICT, C P

By G. YAZDANI

A few years ago R. M. Crofton, Esq., I. C. S., Director General of Revenue, His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government, was kind enough to show me an eye-copy of an inscription of Aurangzeb from Dhamoni. He was also pleased to give me a note on the provenance of the inscription and a short history of the Dhamoni Fort.¹ The fort is mentioned

¹ Mr R. M. Crofton's note is given below —

"A village in the Banda *tahsil* 29 miles north of Saugor. The population is now only 79 persons. The village belongs to Raja Gokal Das of Bulpore. A police outpost is located here. Dhamoni has an old and very extensive fort which is now in ruins. The fort stands on an eminence at a short distance from the summit of the passes leading to Bundelkhand, and commands the valley of the Dhasan river. It is of a triangular ground plan and encloses a space of 52 acres, the ramparts having been generally 50 ft high and 15 ft thick with enormous round towers. There are also interior works strengthening the eastern

by Mughal historians as an important stronghold of the Bundela chiefs and it was conquered by 'Abdulla Khān, the Mughal general, who was deputed to chastise Raja Jujhār of Orchha (Orchha) by Shāh Jahān in 1045 H¹. As the inscription shown by Mr R M Crofton possessed some historical interest, I asked the Director General of Archaeology in India to kindly obtain for me through one of his Assistants two inked rubbings of the inscription. The Director General of Archaeology kindly complied with my request and deputed Dr M Nazim, Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, to visit Dhamoni and prepare inked rubbings of the inscription. Dr M Nazim visited Dhamoni in December, 1936, and he subsequently sent me the estampages of not only the Aurangzeb inscription, which was shown to me by Mr R M Crofton, but also of another record which he found carved on the wall of an old well at the same place. I take this opportunity to thank Mr R M Crofton for his very kindly drawing my attention to the Aurangzeb inscription. I also express my gratitude to the Director General of Archaeology in India and Dr M Nazim for their very kind help in securing me the inked rubbings of the two inscriptions.

The inscription mentioning the name of Aurangzeb is carved on a stone tablet which is now placed in the *dargāh* of Bal Jatī Shāh at Dhamoni. The tablet measures 2 ft 6 in by 1 ft 3 in and is divided into panels. The inscription is in Persian verse. The first hemistich of the third line and the second hemistich of the fourth line are missing, as the stone has decayed at some places through climatic effects. The style of writing is *Nastā'liq* of a crude type.

The record besides the name of Aurangzeb gives the title, Randūlah Khān, which was held by one of his favourite commanders. Randūlah Khān was originally in the service of Bijapur kings, but later he joined the army of Aurangzeb, who seemed to have placed considerable confidence in him, for we find Randūlah Khān first deputed to capture Dāra Shukoh² and afterwards commissioned to punish the Raja of Chanda³. He held the rank of four thousand foot and four thousand horse and was awarded a prize of Rs 10,000 for his

defences, where the magazine and officers' quarters were probably situated. Dhamoni was a very important town under Muhammadan rule and the ruins of numerous mosques and tombs are still visible. It is said that a market was held here for the sale of elephants. There is a large tank a mile from the fort, from which water was supplied to it by underground pipes. The whole place is now covered by jungle with a number of custard apple trees, and is a favourite haunt of tigers. The fort is said to have been built by one Surat Sab, a scion of Mandla Gond dynasty, at the end of the 15th century. It was taken by Raja Birsingh Deo, the chief of Orchha, who rebuilt it, and subsequently passed into the hands of the Muhammadans. In 1700 it belonged to Chhatar Sal of Panna, and was afterwards taken by the Bon-salas. In 1818 after the flight of Appa Sahib, it was invested and taken by a British force under General Marshall. It is locally said that Abu'l Fadl, the well known minister of Akbar, was born in Dhamoni, but there seems to be no authority for this statement. Prominent objects are the tombs of two Muhammadan saints. The most important is that of Baljatī Shāh, said to be the guru of Abu'l Fadl. The villages of Sesu and Ishakpura are revenue free for the support of this tomb, and there is a managing committee with the Tahsildar as president. There is a hereditary guardian of the tomb who has some old title deeds including grants from Chhatar Sal of Panna and the Chanderi Raja of Gwalior. Until recent years the tomb was visited and worshipped by one of the responsible officers of the Nizam of Hyderabad. The other tomb is supposed to be that of one Aintba Shāh Wāh, a Muhammadan saint who is said to have cursed Dhamoni and the surrounding country because he could not get water there, and his curse is believed still to be on the country and prevent its being brought under cultivation. Various legends are current about the tombs of these saints."

¹ *Muntakhhabu'l Lubāb* (Bibl Ind), Vol I, pp 510-14 and *Ma'āthiru'l Umara* (Bibl Ind), Vol II, p 217.

² *Muntakhhabu'l Lubāb*, Vol II, p 41, and *Ma'āthiru'l Umara*, Vol II, p 309.

³ *Ma'āthir*, III, 309.

successful campaign against Dāra Shukoh The inscription gives the date 1085 H and records the building of a mosque at Dhamoni at the time of the visit of the victorious general, Randūlah Khān

The text has been deciphered as follows —

Plate XI (a)

- (۱) در زمان خسرو دیں پرور گیتی ساسان شاه عالم گنر اس ثانیء صاحب قزاق
 (۲) حوں بدولت کرد در هامن دهامری درول معدم رندوله خان عـاریء عالی مکان
 (۳) * * * * * تا بود سام و سحرکه سجده گاه مومنان
 (۴) هسب حوں انعام این در یکهار هشداد و بدیم * * * * *
 (۵) مالکش عدل الله اس شمع راحی محمد است حوں و ملک ارسب تا باقی بود در زمان
 کده لطیف اس محمد طریف فاروقی

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of the emperor, the defender of the faith, the conqueror of the world, King 'Ālamgīr, the son of the Second Lord of the happy conjunction (Shāh Jahān)
 (2) When the victorious and exalted Randūlah Khān camped in state in the plains of Dhamoni,
 (3) so that the faithful may pray therein in the morning and evening.
 (4) As it (the mosque ?) was completed in the year 1085 H (1671 A D)
 (5) The owner thereof is 'Abdullah son of Shāikh Rūjī Muhammad, whose right and title to ownership will continue as long as the world exists.

Written by Muhammad Latif son of Muhammad Zarīf Fārūqī

The other inscription which is carved on a well is also in Persian verse and consists of four hemistichs The style of writing is *Nast'aliq* As the lower part of the inscriptional tablet is damaged the chronogram which is given in the fourth hemistich cannot be deciphered with certainty If it is *Kharr gārī*, then the date of the building according to the *Abjad* system will be 1024 H (1615 A D) falling within the reign of Jahāngīr

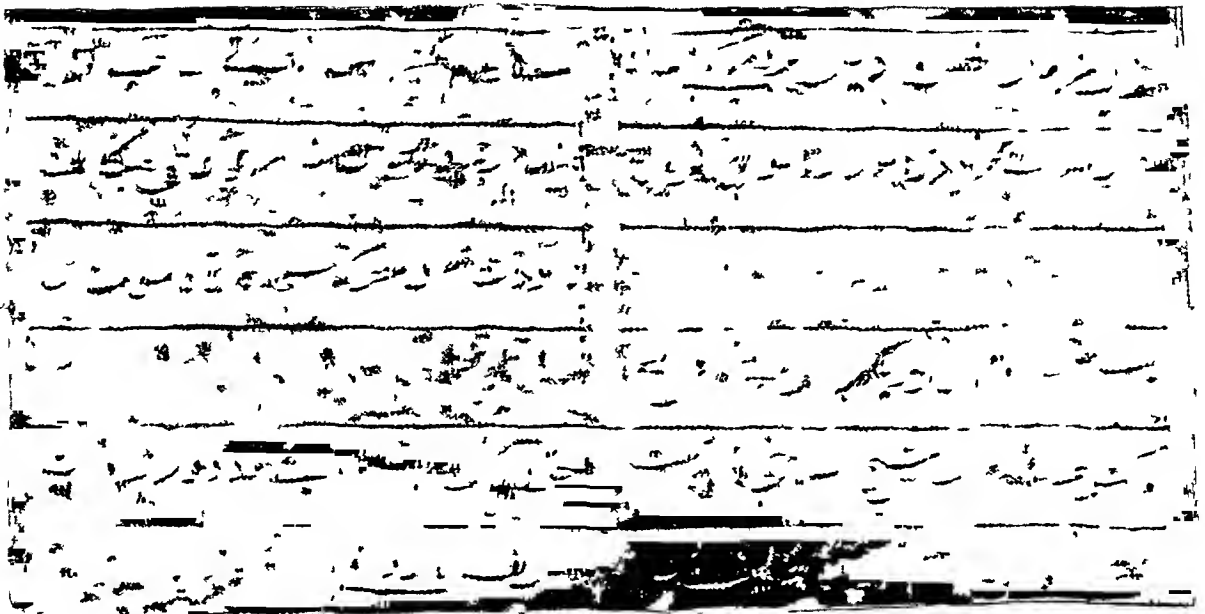
I have deciphered the text as follows —

Plate XI (b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

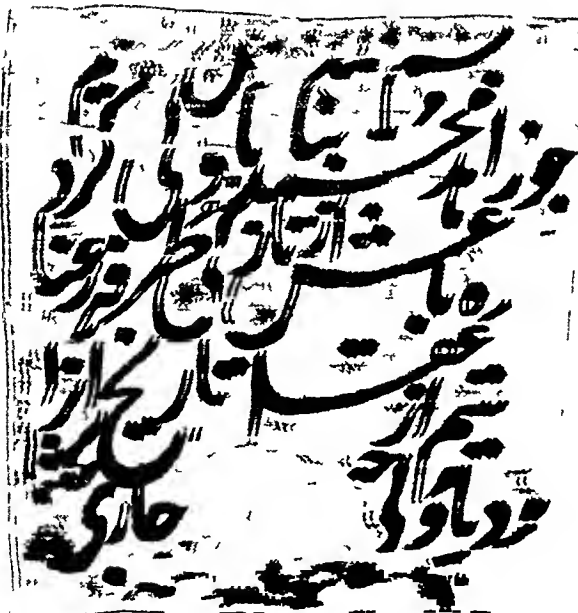
- (۱) حور زاهد محمد بنا دارلی کرد ره ناعش ار نارگی طبره رعنا
 (۲) [سندم] ار عهل ناربع آرا بود نارلی [حدر] حاری نکعنا

(a) Inscription of "Alangir from Idhamoni, C.P



STONE 2

(b) Inscription from a well at Idhamoni, C.P



STONE 2 ---

TRANSLATION

In the name of God the most Merciful and Compassionate¹

- 1 When Zāhid Muhammad built this well lo, its garden was most delightful through its freshness
- 2 We asked Wisdom for its chronogram, it suggested "The well is an everlasting charity" 1024 H (1615 A D)

THE NAVAGRAM INSCRIPTION OF SULTĀN NUSRAT SHĀH OF BENGAL

BY MAULAVI SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD, M A, INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

The stone inscription which is edited here for the first time was noticed by the late Mr N G Majumdar, Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, in 1933, in course of his inspection of an ancient ruined mosque at Navagram in the Pabna District, 13 miles from Chatmohar railway station on the E B Ry. The stone which is lying loose inside the mosque, is a slab of black basalt measuring 21"×10". The epigraph is engraved on this tablet in relief, recording the erection of a mosque by one Miẓān Mu'azzam in the reign of Sultān Nāsiru'd-Dīn Nusrat Shāh on the 4th Rajab, 932 H. As the inscription was found inside the mosque, although dislocated from its original place of setting, and as there is no other old mosque in the neighbourhood, it is presumed that the record belonged to this very mosque.

The mosque is a fair representation of the style of sacred buildings of the time of the Husain Shāhī kings of Bengal. It may be said to be a replica of the renowned *Eḥlālī* tomb at Pandua, Malda District, which served as a model for such constructions in subsequent times. The mosque is a brick-built square structure with a fluted pillar at each corner and in the centre of outer walls. The facades are recessed with deep niches and shallow rectangular panels decorated with elaborately carved bricks. The walls are curvilinear at the top, which is the chief peculiarity of early Bengali structures, but the curvature is so gradual that it is scarcely discernible by untrained eyes. Each of the walls on the north, south and east of the mosque is pierced by two arched doorways by which the prayer-hall can be approached. The whole construction is crowned by a single dome. The interior space from wall to wall measures about 24 ft square. The mosque is still in use, but very poorly attended by the praying units.

The present epigraph is apparently the first dated record that has ever been discovered in the Pabna District. Two more inscriptions, one being verse 13, chapter 13, and the other verses 1-5, chapter 99 from the *Qur'ān*, incised on two separate bricks were, however, found lying in the remains of an old mosque at Samaj in the same District¹. They were acquired in 1924 by Mr K N Dikshit, Rao Bahadur, and presented to the Indian Museum.

The inscription under reference consists of two lines, each separated from the other by a horizontal band running between the lines. The style of writing is *Tughṛā* of a low standard and devoid of artistic beauty. It bears a sharp contrast to the contemporary records of this king, which represent fair specimens of the decorative *Tughṛā* writing of Bengal. This fact leads us to suppose that in engraving this inscription, services of unskilled local craftsmen were requisitioned and that they were not very capable in lithic workmanship.

¹ *E I M* for 1933-34, p 6, Pl III (b) and (c)

The donor of this mosque mentioned in the epigraph is one *Miyān Mu'azzam*. In the Mangalkot inscription¹ of this king, written in 930 H, has also been found the name of one *Khān Miyān Mu'azzam*. It may be surmised that these two *Miyān Mu'azzams* were either identical persons or connected with each other by some bond of relationship. The donor has further been designated as 'Jangdār' (a warrior, a hero). This indicates that *Miyān Mu'azzam* was possibly one of those dignitaries who distinguished himself by displaying some feat of chivalry in the expedition sent by Nusrat *Shāh* against *Bābur* and was subsequently rewarded with this distinction.²

The titles of the king mentioned in this epigraph are the same as are generally found on his coins. The language is Arabic and I give below my reading of the text —

Plate XII (a)

(1) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجداً في الدنيا بنى الله تعالى سبعين قصرًا في الجنة من ؟ بنى هذا المسجد في عهد السلطان ابن سلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر نصرت
سنة سلطان ابن حسن سنة

(2) سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و اعلى امرة و شاه ناني المسجد ميان معظم . . .
حنكدار ابن . . . عم سهره (٩) في العصر حال معظم مباركان ناصر سلمهما الله تعالى
في الدارس - مورجاً ٤ من ماه رجب فدره سنة اننى و ثلثى و سعمائة ٩٣٢

TRANSLATION

1 2 The Prophet has said (peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him), "Whoever builds a mosque in this world, God the Great will build seventy palaces in heaven (for him)." This mosque has been built in the reign of the Sultān, son of Sultān Nāsrū'd-Dunya wad dīn Abu'l Muzaffar Nusrat *Shāh* Sultān, son of Husam *Shāh* Sultān, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and elevate his power and dignity. The donor of this mosque is *Miyān Mu'azzam*. Jangdār, son of may his fame be diffused among the people, *Khān Mu'azzam Mubārak Khān*, may God the Great keep them both in peace in both the worlds, (it was built) on the 4th of Rajab, may its honour be dignified, in the year nine hundred and thirty-two, 932 (21st April, 1526)

FIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW

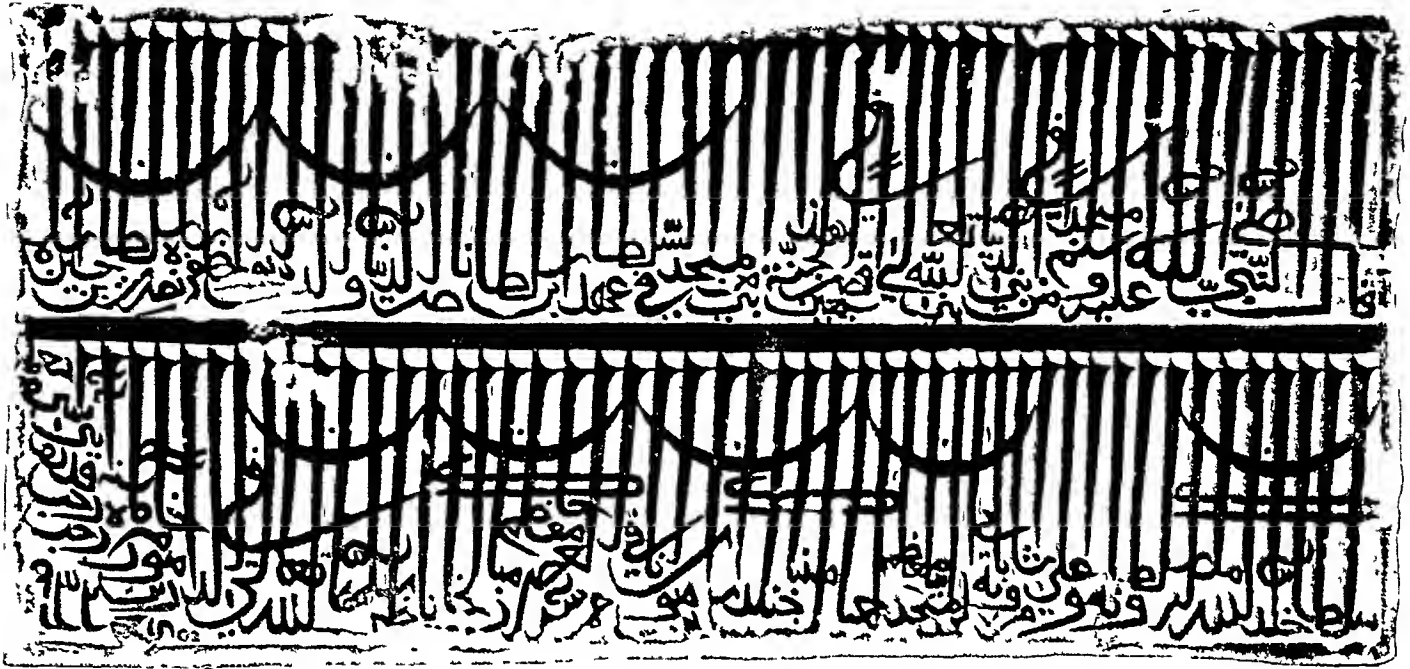
By G. YAZDANI

Two years ago, Mr. Prayag Dayal, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, kindly sent me the rubbings of some inscriptions for decipherment and publication in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*. I have selected five inscriptions from them and they are studied below. The earliest of these inscriptions belongs to the reign of Mubārak *Shāh Khālji*, and from the style of its writing it is very typical of the script which was in fashion at that period. For instance, the style of the *markaz* of *kāf*, or the spelling of the word *كى*, or the form of

¹ Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, for 1873, p. 296

² A. Salam's *Ri'az*, pp. 134-35

(a) Inscription of Sultan Nusrat Shah of Bengal from Navagram, Pabna District.



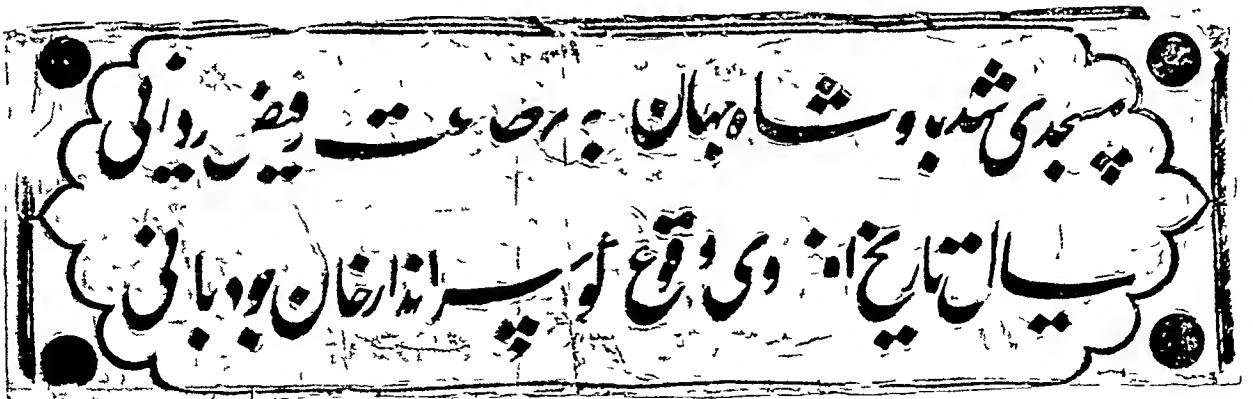
SCALE 33

(b) Inscription of Mubarak Shah Khalji from the Provincial Museum, Lucknow



SCALE 144

(c) Inscription of Shah Jahan from the Provincial Museum, Lucknow



SCALE 144

hā'i haviaz, such as used at the end of the word *داد* in the sixth hemistich and in the word *د* in the seventh hemistich. The inscription is incomplete and it records the construction of some building, perhaps a mosque, which was commenced during the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khālji (1296-1316 A D) and completed shortly after his death in 1316 A D when Mubārak Shāh Khālji succeeded to the throne of Delhi. The inscriptional tablet now measures 3 ft 8 in by 1 ft 2 in, but originally it must have been about 5 ft in length for the second hemistichs of each of lines two, four and six are missing, and they originally having been arranged in separate panels would have made the length of the tablet 1 ft 3 in larger than its present size. The unfortunate feature about this inscriptional tablet however is, that it was deliberately broken to suit the size of another inscription which was carved on the back of the tablet by Sar Andāz Khān an official of Shāh Jahān's reign in 1049 H¹. In the latter inscription the name of Sar Andāz Khān is mentioned as the builder of a mosque. From the vandalistic treatment offered to the original inscription it may also be surmised that the mosque which has been recorded in the latter inscription to have been built by Sar Andāz Khān may have only been repaired by him and originally built during the reigns of 'Alāu'd-Dīn and Mubārak Shāh Khālji as mentioned in the former inscription.

The original inscription is in Persian verse. The style of writing is *Nasḥ* of an ornamental type such as was in vogue during the reigns of the early Sultāns of Delhi. Originally the inscription consisted of six lines, comprising twelve hemistichs, each carved in a separate panel on the tablet. The fourth, eighth and twelfth hemistichs are missing now.

I have deciphered the text as follows.—

Plate XII (b)

- (۱) . . . شه علا دنیا ر دیں کی داد مرقد او تحک کاه حلد بریں
 (۲) . . . بنا نهاد ر لکن طالع . . .
 (۳) . . . دارا نشان مبارکشاه کی داد مملکتش تا روز حشر امیں
 (۴) . . . کمینه بدد اس هر دو شا . . .
 (۵) . . . ب در سال هفصد و سئ و ده وقف کرد یعین
 (۶) . . . حرای حشر دهدش حدای . . .

TRANSLATION

- 1 The king, 'Alā'u-Dunya-o-Dīn ('Alāu'd-Dīn) may the throne of Paradise be his resting place!
- 2 He laid the foundation but through the influence of (unlucky) stars
- 3 (The king) with Darius's glory, Mubārak Shāh may his empire remain safe until the day of resurrection!
- 4 The humble servant of both these kings . . .
- 5 In the Hīra year 716 (1316 A D) . . . dedicated them surely . . .
- 6 May God reward him (for this act of charity) . . .

¹Sar Andāz Khān held the Faujdārī of the *sarlārs* of Lucknow and Beswara during Shāh Jahān's reign. He also held the rank of one thousand five hundred foot and one thousand two hundred horse. *Bādshāh Nama* (Bibl Ind), Vol I, Pt. II, p 278

The inscription on the reverse side of the tablet is also in Persian and consists of two lines
The style of writing is *Nastā'liq* of a fair class
I have deciphered the text as follows —

Plate XII (c)

- (۱) مسجد سد ندو [ر] شاه جهان شهر طابع ر فیص بردانی
(۲) سال نازیم او . . . دی رتبع ' گو سر انداز خان بود دانی

TRANSLATION

- 1 By the grace of God the mosque was built for prayer during the reign of *Shāh Jahān*
- 2 (Regarding) the year and date of construction say "Sar Andāz *Khān* was the founder"

According to the *Abjad* system the phrase, *Sar Andāz Khān būd bānī*, gives the date 1045 H (1635 A D), which represents the year of the construction of the mosque

The third inscription from the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, has also an unhappy history. It belongs to the reign of the Mughal king Akbar, and originally the inscriptional tablet was set up on an important building, but later the tablet seems to have been removed from that building and through the utilitarian zeal of some enthusiast dressed and shaped as a mill-stone. The tablet having been used for the latter purpose for some time, the letters carved thereon have been abraded and it is impossible to decipher the text of the inscription in full.

The tablet at present measures 1 ft 8 in by 1 ft 4 in and has a hole in the middle. The inscription is in Arabic prose and the script is *Nasikh*. The few words of the text which have been deciphered are given below —

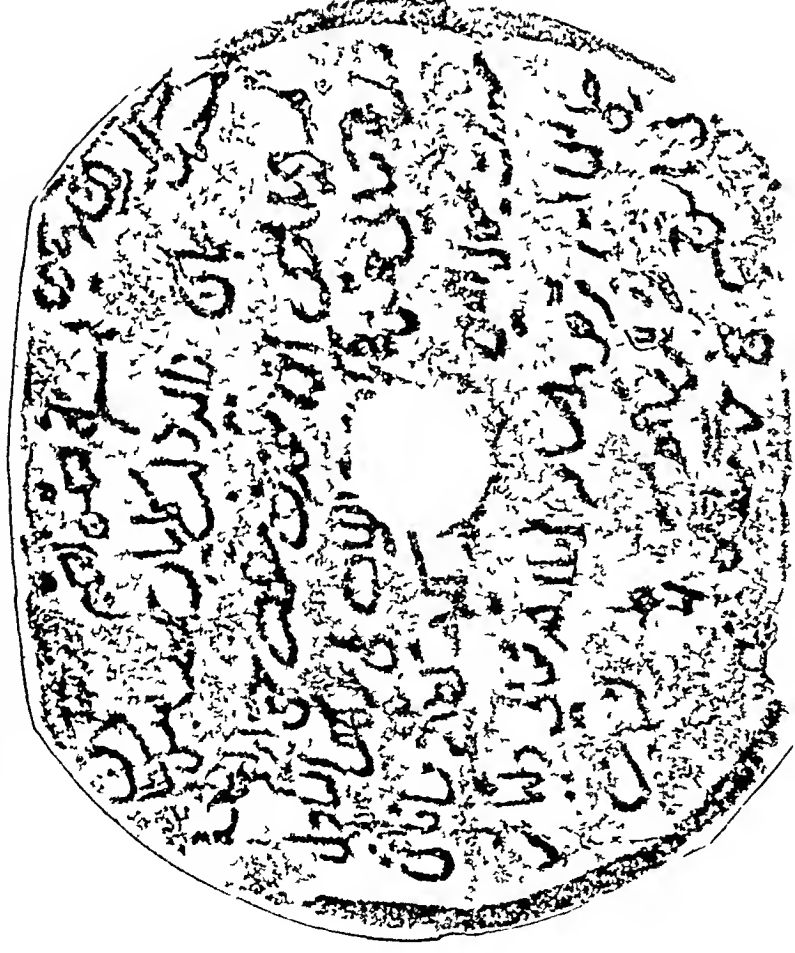
Plate XIII (a)

محمد اکبر ناساہ عاری

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

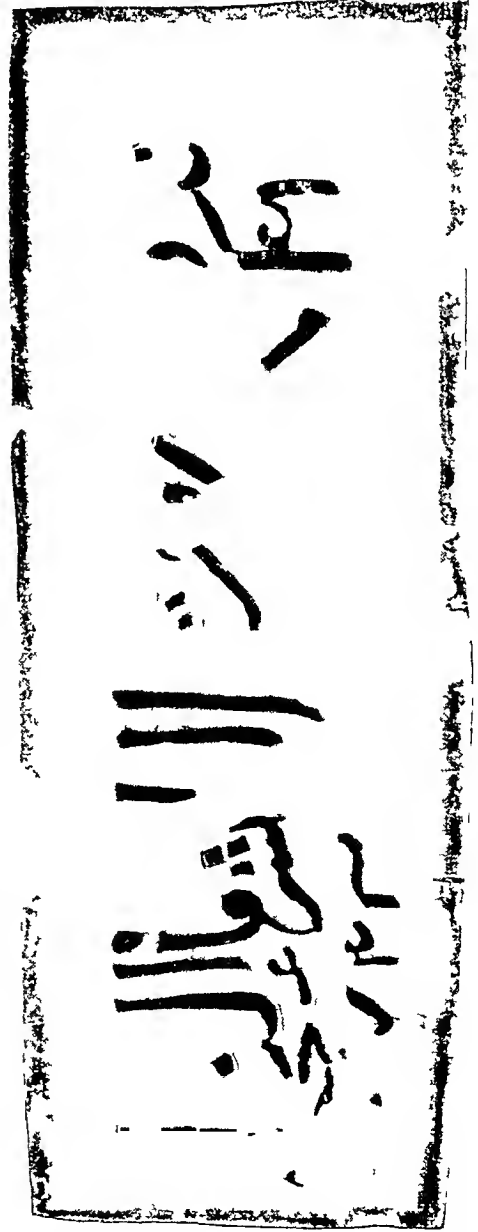
- (۱) سدندان سلطان
(۲)
(۳) فی عهد الملك النادل
(۴) حصرت حلال الدیس ملکہ و سلطانه و امام
(۵) علی العالمین برہ و احسانہ بعلی دایماً
(۶) فی نازیم عشر و خمس و ثماندن
(۷)

(a) Inscription of Akbar from the Provincial Museum, Lucknow

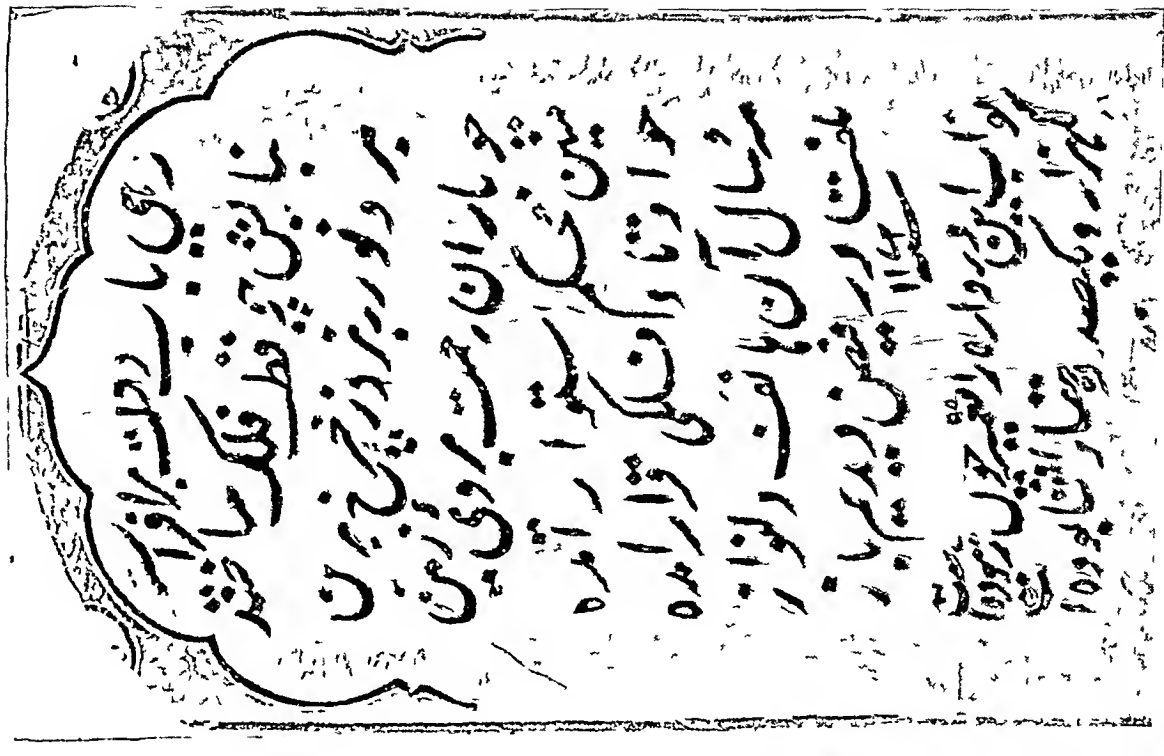


SCALE 25

(b) Inscription on a brick Provincial Museum, Lucknow



(c) Inscription from the Provincial Museum, Lucknow



SCALE 2

TRANSLATION

Muhammad Akbar, the victorious king

In the name of God the most Merciful and Compassionate!

"Holy Sultān . . . during the reign of the benevolent king, His Majesty Jalālu'd-Dīn protect his kingdom and authority and diffuse his munificence and charity in the world Almighty forever on the in the year 985 H (1577 A D)

The fourth inscription of the Lucknow Museum is also somewhat unusual, being earved on a brick, measuring 12 in in length It contains two dates 719 and 734 H, the first falling within the reign of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Khālī and the latter during the rule of Fīroz Tughluq The style of writing is *Nasālī*, but as the letters of the beginning of the inscription have been abraded only the last two words of the text are legible, which read as follows —

Plate XIII (b)

الشرفاء النجباء

. . .

۷۳۴

۷۱۹

TRANSLATION

the nobles and the generous

"

719 H (1319 A D)

734 H (1334 A D)

The fifth inscription seems to have been originally set up on a gate, which was built by some Nawab in the year 1172 H (1758 A D) The style of writing is *Nastā'liq* and the inscription consists of five lines of Persian verse¹

I have deciphered the text as follows —

Plate XIII (c)

(۱) رشی ناب دولت درافراسندند نایش حو فط ملک ساختند

(۲) نور نور زبون و چرخ زبیب جو نارن رحم زری رمیب

(۳) مندن محکم اسوار آمده حو ارتاد ملک فرار آمده

(۴) م و سال آن شافع دلنوار نگنا در فص دیدیم نار

۱۱۷۲

(۵) نواب این دروازه را بمدر حو فرموده است یکهار و یکصد و هشتاد اثنا برده است

TRANSLATION

- 1 How excellent the gate of empire, which they have built and elevated its structure like the Pole star
- 2 Upon it (the gate) the divine light falls from heaven like the rain (of merey) on earth
- 3 It is solid, strong and durable, having the constancy of the poles of heaven (i.e., the stars)
- 4 The month and year of the building were communicated by the gracious inspirer, who said, "We have seen the gate of benevolence open"²
- 5 When the Nawāb built this gate, the (Hijrī) year was 1172 H (1758 A D)

¹The inscription is carved on a tablet, measuring 2 ft 6 in by 1 ft 6 in

²According to the *Abjad* system the phrase gives the year 1172 H

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GINGEE

BY FAZAL AHMAD KHAN, M A

I am deeply grateful to Mr Ghulam Yazdani, who was kind enough to allow me to work on inscriptions from Gingee, Helsingi and Pirapūr, which I now publish with his kind permission in two articles. Further I acknowledge the kind help and guidance which he has given me ungrudgingly.

The impregnable rock-fortress of Gingee is in the Tiruvanam Taluka of the South Arcot District, Madras, situated in 12° 15' N and 79° 25' E¹. According to a most reliable and valuable source of historical information, the geographical position of Gingee has been marked out thus: "It (Gingee) has got seven forts. On the east is Palamkota, and it stretches up to the sea on this side. On the north is Sihachal mountain, which bounds Carnatic and Arcot. In the western direction is Tirumāl, and towards the south Wardawar"².

At present the population of Gingee is small, but when it was conquered by the Emperor Aurangzeb's general Dhu'l-Fiqār Khān, it became a very important division of Mughal administration in the Deccan. It comprised eight *mahals* (districts), and its annual revenue amounted to 7½ lakh of rupees³. Now the interest of the place is merely historical. We lack definite historical evidence to show who first constructed the fortress, but the original architectural features indicate that some ruler of the ancient Vijayanagar dynasty built the fort. The lines of fortifications which cross the valley between the three hills of Rājagiri, Kistnagiri and Chandraya Drug, embrace an area of 7 square miles. Originally each fortification consisted of a wall 5 feet thick, built of granite blocks and filled in with rubble, but later a huge earthen rampart, 25 to 30 feet thick, has been thrown up behind these walls, and rivetted on the inside with stone, while at intervals in this rampart were built guard rooms.

The fortress, as already mentioned, is defended by three formidable hills, connected by long walls of circumvallation. The citadel stands on the Rājagiri hill, 500 to 600 feet high, and consists of a ridge terminating in a great overhanging bluff facing the south and falling with a precipitous sweep to the plain on the north. At the point where the ridge meets the base of the bluff, a narrow and steep ravine gives a difficult means of access to the top. On every other side it is inaccessible. Across this ravine were built three walls rising one behind the other, which rendered an attack by escalade impracticable. The way to the summit leads through the three walls by several gateways⁴.

As mentioned above, the fortress of Gingee was a stronghold of the Vijayanagar kingdom, which was at the height of its glory and prosperity at the beginning of the 16th century A.D., and was finally overthrown by the allied forces of the Sultāns of Bijapur, Golconda, Ahmadnagar and Bidar in the year 1565 A.D. at the famous battle of Tihkota, when Rāma Rāya was slain and the confederates marched on to Vijayanagar. It was not until 1058 A.H., 1638 A.D., however, that Khān Muhammad, the Bijapur general with the military alliance of Golconda troops, captured the fort from Raja Rūp Naik a descendant of Rāma Rāya, the Vijayanagar king. It was for the first time in the history of the Carnatic that Muslims firmly established themselves there. The new rulers built

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XII.

² *Statistical Account of the Deccan under the Mughals* (original manuscript in possession of Mr Ghulam Yazdani).

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XII.

mosques and other buildings in this part, which had hitherto been a land of Hindu temples¹

As a result of Muslim conquest the vast country of the Carnatic was divided into two main parts, the Hyderabadī and the Bijapurī, by an imaginary line from Vellore to Sadras, and each of these parts was further sub-divided into Bālīghāt (uplands) and Pīyānghāt (lowlands). But the new rulers had not fully consolidated their conquests, and a large part of the country was still in the hands of unsubdued *poligars* (local chiefs), or held by nobles who were independent of Bijapur and Hyderabad. The political situation was further complicated by Shivaji's invasion of 1677 A.D., and the establishment of a new Maratha government at Gingee. Shivaji appointed one of his own officers to command the fortress, and it remained in Maratha hands for 22 years².

After the fall of Bijapur and Golconda, Mughal sovereignty was proclaimed over all the Carnatic by virtue of succession, but without any adequate force to make it effective. After Shivaji's death, his son-in-law, Harji, became Commander of Gingee. Harji invaded Hyderabadī Carnatic, north of the Palār river, and took possession of several forts and towns. On the arrival of the Emperor Aurangzeb's officers, the raiders retreated and established themselves at Wandiwash. Harji died in 1689 A.D. Rajā Ram arrived at Gingee, took possession of it and established his court there. Dhu'l-Fiqr Khān, as supreme Mughal Commander, reached the environs of Gingee in the year 1690 A.D. The siege was prolonged for 8 years on account of the well fortified position of the fortress, and it seemed that Dhu'l-Fiqr Khān was determined to take Gingee in order to save his credit with the Emperor. At last the fortress fell in the year 1698 A.D., and afterwards became the headquarters of the Muslim standing army in the Province of Arcot³. The Emperor Aurangzeb, after the fall of Gingee, named that town Nusratgarh⁴. It became an important centre of Mughal rule in the Deccan, and a mint was also established there. A silver coin of Emperor Aurangzeb issued from Gingee mint is in the cabinet of Hyderabad Museum and considered to be unique⁵. Some silver coins struck at Nusratgarh, are also in the Hyderabad Museum collection, and a detailed report on these coins has been published.

Nizāmu'l-Mulk, Qamaru'd-dīn, Chīn Qilich Khān, Khān Daurān, had held the Viceroyalty of the Deccan under the Mughal rule in 1713-14, and 1720-22, and though in February 1722 he went to Delhi to assume the Chief Ministership of the Empire, he kept hold over the Deccan by means of his agents. In 1724 A.D. he went back to the Deccan with the intention of relinquishing the more responsible office at Delhi. In a short time the entire Mughal Deccan was brought under his control. The Emperor confirmed him in the Viceroyalty of the Deccan, with the title of Āsaf Jāh in the year 1725 A.D. At the time of Āsaf Jāh's death, his eldest son, Mir Muhammad Panāh, Ghāzīu'd-Dīn Khān, was at Delhi. Nāsir Jang the second son managed to seize the Viceroyalty of the Deccan, and was at last confirmed in that post by the Emperor with the title of Nizāmu'd-Daula. At this time Āsaf Jāh's daughter's son, Muzaffar Jang, claiming the Viceroyalty, went to the Carnatic in concert with Qhanda Sāhib, an aspirant to the Nawābship of Arcot. The two allies bought the help of Duplex and gained Arcot after killing its

¹ *Basātīn*, p. 329

² *Cambridge History*, Vol. IV

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *Ma'āthiru'l Umara*, Vol. 2, p. 96 (Asiatic Society, Bengal)

⁵ An account of the Gingee coin was published in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, for the year 1919-20 A.D.

Nawāb, Anwaru'd-Dīn Nāsir Jang with troops marched to the Carnatic, came upon his enemies near Valadavar, captured alive Muzaffar Jang and returned to Arcot. In the meanwhile the English implored Nāsir Jang to take the field against the French. He only decided to do so when he learnt that Dupleix had occupied Truviti and Gingee and was marching towards Arcot¹. The capture of Gingee by the French in the year 1750 A.D.² profoundly disquieted him. After this Nāsir Jang set out, but was slain at the instigation of the French³. The French held Gingee for 11 years. During this interval there was constant warfare between the English and the French in the Deccan, each trying to establish supremacy. In 1756 A.D. war broke out anew and lasted till 1761 A.D., at the closing of which the French were left without a foot of ground in India⁴. It was in 1761 A.D. that Gingee passed to the English. In 1780 A.D. this fortress was surrendered to Haider 'Ali and played no important part in the subsequent campaigns.

(1) *Inscription on a bastion, Gingee Fort* ,

The stormy history of Gingee fortress has already been briefly traced out, and we know how the 'Ādil Shāhī troops brought Gingee under their subjugation in the year 1058 H, 1638 A.D. It remained under 'Ādil Shāhī protection for about 10 years, and during this period many additions in buildings were made. The bastion on which the present inscription is carved was built in the year 1063 H, 1643 A.D.

The inscription is carved on a slab which measures 1 ft 6½ in by 8½ in. The language is Persian and the style of writing *Nasta'liq*, which developed to a high perfection during the time of the Mughal emperors, particularly in the reign of Akbar⁴. My reading of the text is as follows —

Plate XIV (a)

روح حسینی در سال ۱۰۶۳ مسعود شد

TRANSLATION

Husainī bastion was built in the year 1063 H, 1643 A.D.

(2) *Inscription on a mosque at Gingee*

Gingee, after being taken from Maratha hands in the year 1698 A.D., remained the headquarters of the Mughal troops up to the year 1750 A.D. During this period new buildings were constructed in Gingee, and the mosque in which the present inscription has been found was completed in the year 1130 H, 1718 A.D.

The inscription consists of four lines of Persian verse, which are written in *Nasta'liq* characters. The slab measures 1 ft 9 in by 1 ft 7 in. It records the construction of a mosque by one Sa'id, Governor of Gingee in the time of the Emperor Farrukh-Siyar. It

¹ *Cambridge History*, Vol IV

² *Ma'aẓẓiru'l Umara*, Vol 2, p 854

³ *Ibid*, p 852

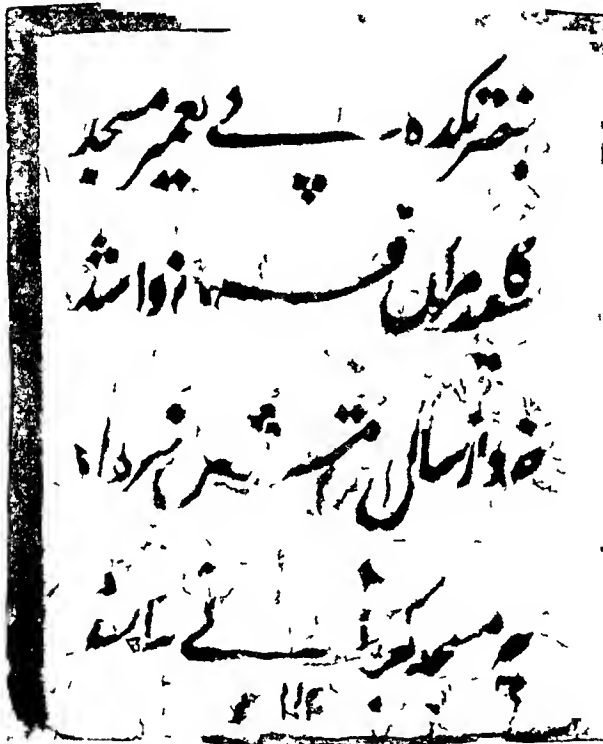
⁴ Abu'l Fadl remarks that during the time of Emperor Akbar, *Nasta'liq* received a new impetus. *A'in-i Akbari* (Blochmann), Vol I, p 102

(a) Inscription on a bastion, Gingee Fort



SCALE 166

(b) Inscription on a mosque at Gingee.



SCALE 166

(c) Inscription in Sa'dullah Khan's mosque, Gingee



SCALE 125

also contains a ebronogram giving the date 1130 H, 1718 A D My reading of the text is as follows —

Plate XIV (b)

نصرتگده ہے تعمیر مسجد سعید کامراں فرمانروا سد
 حرد ار سال امامش حرد داد چه مسجد کعبه ثانی بنا شد
 ۱۱۳۰

TRANSLATION

- (1) Sa'id, the successful (administrator), ordered the construction of a mosque at Nusratgarh¹
- (2) Wisdom communicated the ebronogram of the completion of the building "What a mosque, as if another Ka'ba has been built" 1130 H (1718 A D)

(3) *Inscription in Sa'd'ullah Khān's Mosque, Gingee*

This inscription consists of four lines of Persian verse, carved in elegant *Nastāliq* style. The slab bearing this inscription measures 4 ft by 11 in. It records the construction of a canal, by Sa'id, Governor of Gingee during the administration of Emperor Muhammad Shāh of Delhi. It also contains a chronogram which gives the date 1135 H, 1723 A D. My reading of the text is as follows —

Plate XIV (c)

مرد ار بهر آب شهر حلتی سعد عالم آرا رشک حورسید
 حرد تاریخ آن سرچشمه دیص نگنا نص جاری ناک حارید
 ۱۱۳۵

TRANSLATION

- (1) Sa'id, the adorer of the world, the envy of the sun, increased the water-supply of the city of Gingee by (the construction) of the canal
- (2) Wisdom suggested the chronogram of this fountain of benevolence "May this (stream of) bounty flow forever" 1135 H (1723 A D)

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE INDI TALUKA, BIJAPUR DISTRICT

By FAZAL AHMAD KHAN, M A

Indi taluka is the northernmost taluka of the Bijapur District in the Bombay Presidency, lying between 16° 56' and 17° 29' N and 75° 33' and 76° 12' E. This taluka is an unbroken and almost treeless plain, but towards the south and south-east where some streams flow, the country is populous and well cultivated². The villages of Halsingī and Pīrapūr are near Indi, where the three new inscriptions have been discovered.

¹ Emperor Aurangzeb after the conquest of Gingee, named that town as Nusratgarh, (*Ma āḥīru'l Umara*, Vol 2 p 99)

² *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol XIV

(a) *Inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī from Halsingī*

The first of these three inscriptions is from Halsingī. This inscription refers to Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī II, who was the son of Sultān Ahmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī. He ascended the throne at Ahmadabad Bidar, agreeably to the will of his father in the month of Rajab, 839 H (February 1435 A.D.)¹ and died of disorder in his foot, after a reign of 23 years, 9 months and 20 days in the year 862 H (1457 A.D.)²

This inscription is of great historical significance, for it throws light on a system in vogue during the rule of Muslim sovereigns of India according to which stones carved with their names were fixed on the boundary line of their empire. This useful practice helps the historian to ascertain the extent of dominion of a ruler. In the present case we note that the Bahmanī kingdom included Bijapur during the sovereignty of Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī II. During this period Bijapur was first seized by the Sultān's brother Muhammad Khān, but later he surrendered it when peace was effected between the two brothers. When Dev Ray of Vijayanagur invaded the Bahmanī kingdom in 1443 A.D., he reached as far as Bijapur. At this time the Governor of Bijapur was Khān Zūmān. The date when Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ahmad Shāh had this stone fixed is not known because the inscription contains no date.

The inscription consists of two lines carved on an irregular stone.³ It is written in crude *Nasḥ* style, and my reading of the text is as follows —

Plate XV(a)

حد علاء الدین و الدین

احمد شاه سلطان

TRANSLATION

"The boundary of Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ahmad Shāh"

(b) *Inscription from a dargūh at Pīrapūr*

This inscription consists of four lines. The language is Persian mixed with Arabic. It is carved on a slab in *Nasḥ* characters, and measures 1 ft 10 in by 1 ft 1 in. It records the building of a mosque by one Malik 'Abdu'l-Qādir son of Ahmad Khān in the time of Sultān Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijapur. My reading of the text is as follows —

Plate XV(b)

(1) . . . الله سبحانه تعالى . . .

(2) . . . حضرت ملک عبد القادر بن حضرت خان عالیشان رفیع القدر و المکان سعادت

شاه احمد خان ابن الناس خان . . . سعادت

(3) . . . اللهم (نفع) المسلمين بطل حناته . . . حمل احسانه بحرمه

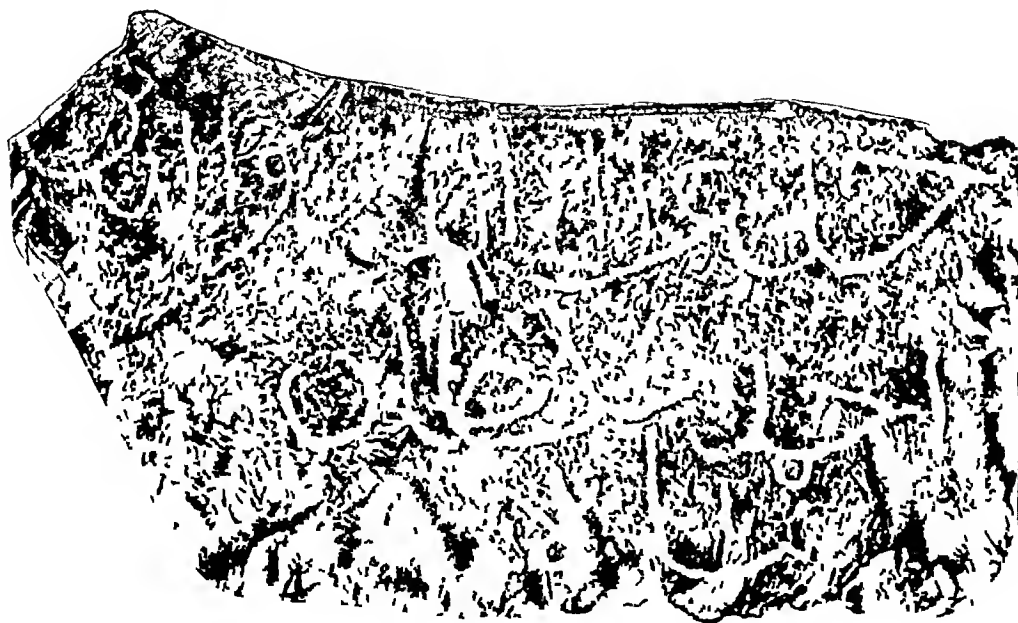
سيد المرسلين و آله

¹ Briggs, Vol. II, p. 421

² *Ibid*, p. 449

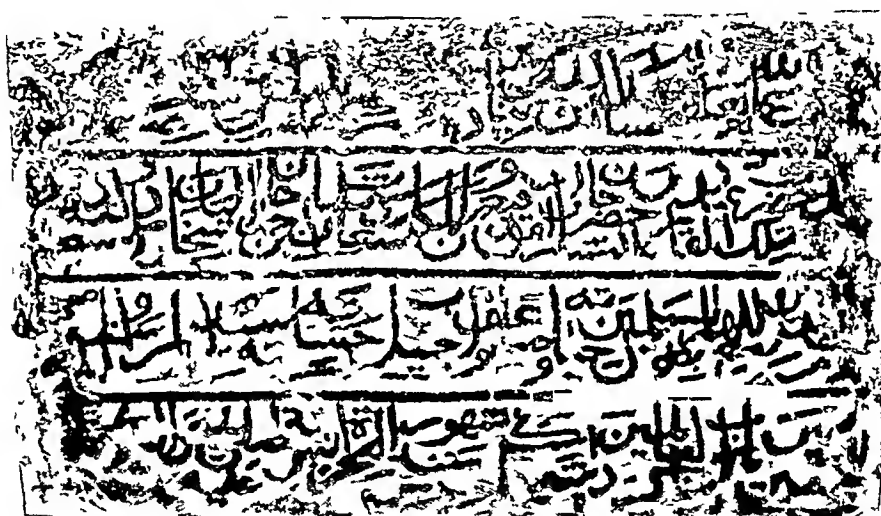
³ It measures 2 ft 1 in by 1 ft. 4 in.

(a) Inscription of 'Alau'd-Din from Halsingi, Indi Taluqa, Bijapur District



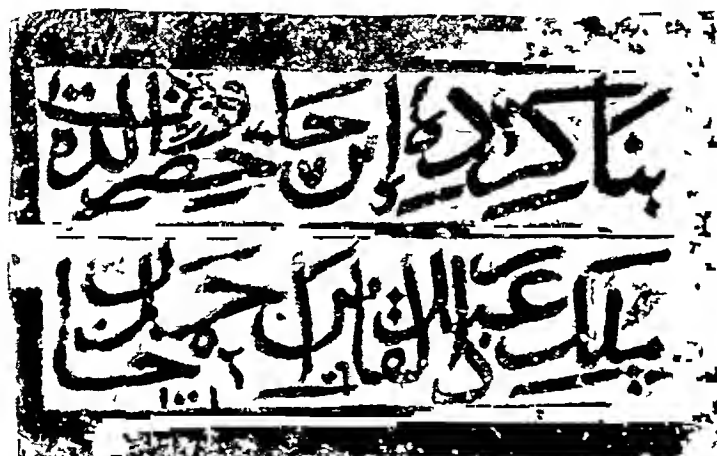
SCALE 2

(b) Inscription from a *dargah* at Pirapur, Indi Taluqa, Bijapur District



SCALE 2

(c) Another inscription from the *dargah* at Pirapur.



SCALE 2

11

(4) احمد بن آيين يا رب العالمين بنا كرد سحر سنة الهجرة النبوية

صلى الله عليه وآله

TRANSLATION

by the exalted Mahk, 'Abdu'l-Qādir, son of the Khān of exalted rank and position, the illustrious, Ahmad Khān, son of Ilyās Khān in the Hijra year ..

(c) *Another Inscription from the dargāh at Pirapūr*

This inscription is composed of two lines Its language is Persian, and the style of writing *Naskh* The slab bearing the inscription measures 1 ft 6 in by 1 ft It records the construction of a well near the *dargāh* by the mother of Mahk 'Abdu'l-Qādir The date of the completion of the well is 1001 H, 1593 A D My reading of the text is as follows —

Plate XV(c)

بنا کرده اس حاه حصرت والد

ملك عند العادر بن احمد حان

| ۰۰ |

TRANSLATION

This well was built by the mother of Mahk 'Abdu'l-Qādir, the son of Ahmad Khān

SOME NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE GOLCONDA FORT.

By KHWAJA MUHAMMAD AHMAD, M A.

Three inscriptions of the guns of Aurangzeb, which were found at Goleonda some time ago, have already been published by Mr G Yazdani, O B E, in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* for 1913-14 and 1935-36 Subsequently the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad, has discovered two more guns of Aurangzeb at Goleonda, and I am indebted to Mr G Yazdani for kindly allowing me to publish their inscriptions *Ma'āt̤h̤ir-i-Ālamgīrī* mentions the name of some guns while describing the siege of Goleonda by Aurangzeb,¹ and states that they were used by him in the bombardment of the fort, but it makes no mention of the names of the two guns discovered recently although they are as important and nearly as large as the guns mentioned in the *Ma'āt̤h̤ir*, the inscriptions of which were published by Mr G Yazdani previously² It is possible that these two guns may have been brought to Goleonda some time after its conquest by Aurangzeb, otherwise they would not have remained unnoticed in the *Ma'āt̤h̤ir*

Both of these guns are of bronze and are dated 1077 H (1666 A D) and 1090 H (1679 A D) respectively The earlier gun, which, according to the inscription carved upon it, was called, Qal'a Kusha (Fort Opener), is mounted on a bastion to the northwest of the Bāradarī It is 11 ft in length with a bore 6 in in diameter The diameter at the muzzle is 1 ft 3 in and the circumference near the butt is 5 ft 2 in There are six ornamented

¹ *Ma'āt̤h̤ir-i-Ālamgīrī* (Bibl Ind), p 290

² *EJ M*, 1913 14, pp 55 57 and 1935 36, pp 21 24

panels containing inscriptions arranged over the length of the gun The third and the fifth panels have inscriptions in Arabic, their script being *Thulth* The remaining contain inscriptions in Persian and their script is *Nastā'liq* My reading of the texts of the inscriptions is given below —

Plate XVI (a)

First panel

هركه آمد بهمان اهل فنا خواهد بود آنكه پاينده نامى است خدا خواهد بود

Second panel

ابوالطغر محمد محمى الدين اوردگ ريب بهادر عالم گير نادر شاه عارى سده ۱۰ (حلس)

Third panel

سده سعه سعه ر الف

Fourth panel

درب قلعه كشاے

Fifth panel

خدا عمل محمد على عرب

Sixth panel

گوله ده آثار و دارر سه آثار يكديم پار بالا درون جهانگيرى

TRANSLATION

First panel	Whoever has come to this world will perish some day One who is everlasting and perpetual is God
Second panel	Abū'z-Zafar Muhammad Muhiu'd-Dīn Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr Bahādur, the victorious king (Regnal) year 10
Third panel	1077 H (1666 A D)
Fourth panel	Qal'a Kusha (Fort Opener gun)
Fifth panel	Made by Muhammad 'Alī 'Arab
Sixth panel	Shots ten seers, gunpowder three and three-quarter seers according to the Jahāngīrī weight

The other gun is mounted on a bastion which is situated at the foot of the Bālā Hisār hill towards the south-west This gun according to the inscription carved upon it is called *Ātish Bār* (Raining fire) It is 17 ft in length and has a bore 7 in in diameter The diameter at the muzzle is 1 ft 7 in and the circumference near the butt 6 ft 10 in It has four inscribed panels, arranged over its length The language of the inscriptions is Persian and the script *Nastā'liq*

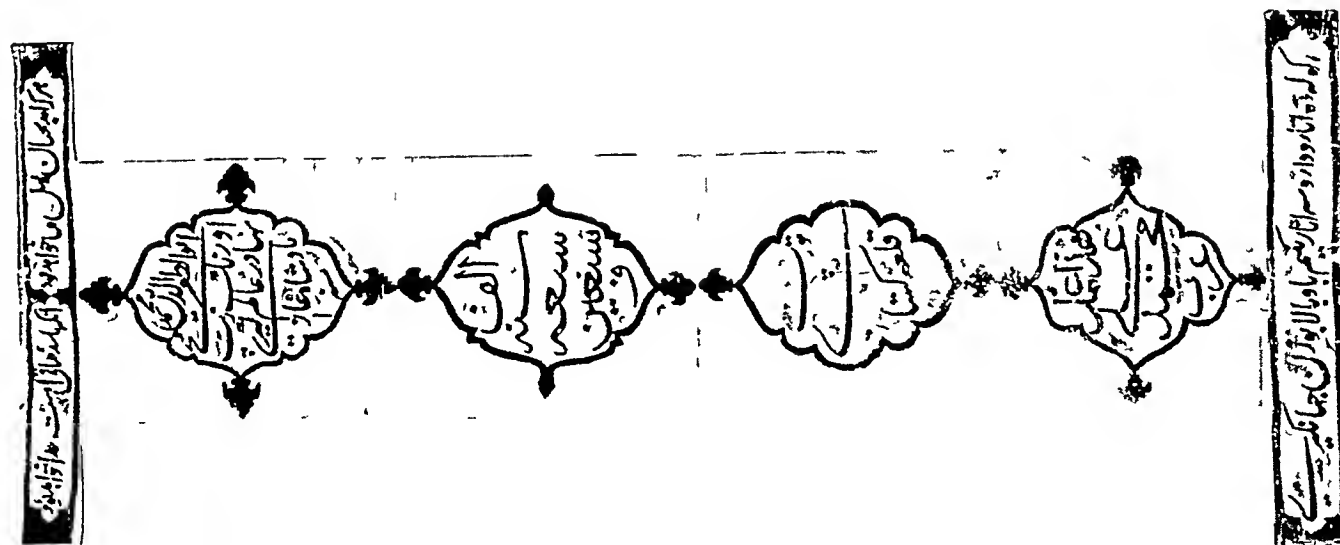
I have deciphered the text as follows —

Plate XVI (b)

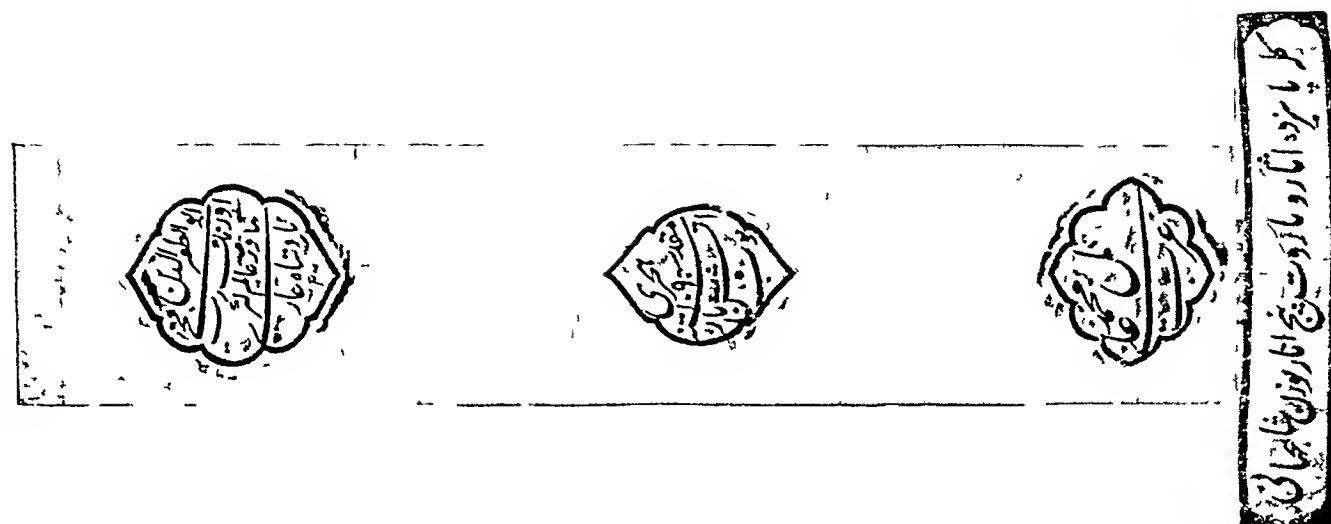
First panel

ابوالطغر محمد محمى الدين اوردگ ريب بهادر عالم گير نادر شاه عارى سده ۲۲ (حلس)

(a) Inscription on a gun in the Golconda Fort



(b) Inscription on another gun in the same Fort



Second panel

توب آتش بار سده معدسه هجری ۱۰۹۰

Third panel

عمل محمد علی عرب

Fourth panel

گله بارده آثار و بارز پدج آثار نور شاهجهانی

TRANSLATION

- First panel Abū'z-Zafar Muhammad Muhiu'd-Dīn Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr Bahādur, the victorious king (Regnal) year 22
 Second panel Ātish Bār (Raining fire) gun The holy Hjrī year 1090
 Third panel Made by Muhammad 'Alī 'Arab
 Fourth panel Shots fifteen seers, gunpowder five seers according to the *Shāhjahānī* weight

In addition to the above inscriptions, some more new epigraphs have been found on a mosque situated close to the Jallād Burj in the Naya Qal'a at Golconda. It is a small but beautiful structure and has a dish-shaped vaulted roof. A full description of the building is published in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Department, H E H the Nizam's Government for the year 1347 Fash (1937-38 A D). The Mosque according to an inscription carved on it, was constructed by Mulla *Khiyālī*, who was one of the court poets of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh.

Over the arch of the entrance to the mosque is fixed a tablet which bears the following inscription in *Thulth* characters —

Plate XVII (a)

وَأَنَّ الْمَسَاحِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا مَدَى اللَّهِ

منت برد را که در دروازه شاه دس پناه دطلب عالم شاه ابراهیم آن دیکو سرشت

TRANSLATION

"Verily the places of worship are set apart unto God, wherefore invoke not any other together with God. Whatever God has said is true."

Thanks be unto God that during the reign of the king who is the defender of faith and is like a pole star to the world, that is king Ibrāhīm of good nature.

The spandrels of the arch were at one time decorated beautifully by mosaic work, but the stones which were inlaid have been taken out in recent times. An inscription is also carved in the spandrels in *Tughra* style.

Plate XVII (b)

قال النبي عليه الصلوة والسلام

الصلوة معراج المومنين

کرده این مسجد بنا ملا حنالی کر شرف می سوز کارند حوران بهشتی سنگ و حش
رکنی از حد برای ناندس ار رای (۶) آن دون تاریخ او رکن بهشت

۵۹۷۷

TRANSLATION

The Prophet, whom may God bless, has said

"The Muslim attains his highest glory when he is praying "

This auspicious mosque has been constructed by Mulla K̲h̲iyālī it will be becoming if the maidens of paradise bring stones and bricks (for the construction of the mosque)

A pillar of paradise for his founder in reference to that the chronogram of the mosque is "*the pillar of paradise*" 977 H (1569 A D)

The interior of the mosque shows traces of floral designs in gold and blue and also bears an inscription in the *mīhrāb*

Plate XVII (c)

قال الله تبارك وتعالى و بعدس ۞ انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله والآخر اقام الصلوة

و آتی الزکوة ولم يحش الا الله معسى اولئك ان يكونوا امن المهددين كلما دخل ذكرها المحراب ۞ محمد

TRANSLATION

Qur'ān, chap 9, verses 18-19

The name Muhammad at the end is that of the scribe who flourished during the reign of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, and several inscriptions at the Golconda fort testify to his skill in the art of calligraphy The inscription on the Makki Darwāza is perhaps the best specimen of his skill and this record shows that he came to the Deccan from Isfahan¹ Another inscription carved on the Ashrafi Masjid at Golconda shows that he was the son of Sayyid Sadru'd-Dīn

In the repairs recently done to the Musā Burj the missing portion of the Persian inscription referring to the first siege of Golconda by Prince Muhammad, son of Aurangzeb, in 1656 A D has been found Mr G Yazdani in his article on the portion of the inscription discovered before had surmised that the Mughals concluded the peace with 'Abdulla Qutb Shāh because they could no longer afford to prolong the siege This surmise has been found correct by the discovery of the missing portion I am publishing the full text and translation of the inscription with the kind permission of Mr G Yazdani

¹ *E I M*, 1913 14, pp 48 9, Pl XIX

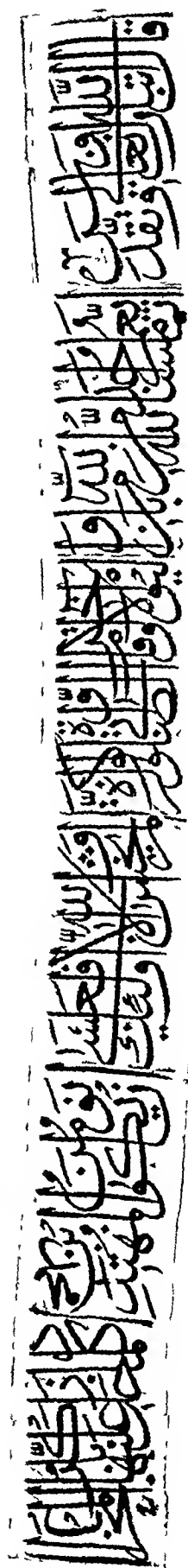
Inscriptions carved on a mosque in the Naya Qil'a, Golconda.



(a)



(b)



(c)

Plate XVIII (a)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۱) بحمدک و بسکرک و بسعین و بسعفرک (۲) ان نصلى على محمد و آل محمد و سلم اما بعد ان درج (۳) عظم الموسوم درج حندری ار ولعه شهر (۴) محمدانگر ندا دهاده شده است آنکه در سال (۵) ده هزار و سصد و شش سلطان اورنگ زیب (۶) دس ساه جهان نا لشکر عظم محاصره انس قلعه (۷) برداشته بود و ار امراء آن نانشاه مندر مدران نام (۸) در مسخر نمودن قلعه نا سلطان عهد کرده بود (۹) که در مدت سه روز ولعه را گرفته تسلیم نماید (۱۰) شب و نا قائم کرده مورچه و نف را (۱۱) نزدیک ان درج نا بحدق رسانند حو درینجا (۱۲) درج کوچک بود اما حکم جهانمطاع عالم مطمع خسرو (۱۳) رمان شهسپاه دران السلطان العادل ظل الله (۱۴) ابوالمظفر ابوالمصور ابوالعاری سلطان عندالله (۱۵) و طب شاه دستور الوزراء فی الرمان مقرب (۱۶) الحصر السلطانه معتمدالدوله الحاقانده (۱۷) حال دی شان سه سالاری موسی حال (۱۸) حنا سرب صدور نوب که خود درینجا (۱۹) زده دفعه عدم مشغول ناسد نراں حال (۲۰) عالیشان سب و روز بهستانی تمام در دفع (۲۱) عدم بود و ارفضاء ربانی علوه بود در وجود (۲۲) مندر مدران حنا حور که در همل مورچه (۲۳) هلاک گشت و بعد از دوت از سه روز صلح (۲۴) سد و بعد از گذاشتن محاصره ده حال (۲۵) مسار الله حکم عالی شد که درج عظم درینجا ندا (۲۶) ناید کرد نا عدم را فرصت نف مورچه کندن (۲۷) محال نباشد بنابر حکم همایون اعلی (۲۸) ناندک ربانی انس درج عظیم نسعی حال مومنی (۲۹) الله در سال سده هزار و هفتاد و هفت (۳۰) نامام رسند و اسم معمار دهرماکار O

TRANSLATION

In the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful We praise and thank God and seek His help and beg His pardon may God bless Muhammad and his progeny and assoil them After the above invocation this great bastion, which is called the Haidari bastion, in the fort of the city of Muhammadanagar, has been built for the reason that during the year 1066 H Sultān Aurangzeb, son of Shāh Jahān, accompanied by a large army, besieged this fort Among the nobles of the king was one, Mir Mirān, who had promised to conquer the fort and make it over to the king within three days He day and established and carried the intrenchments and mines to the ditch (of the fort) As at this place was a small bastion, an order—obeyed by the world and respected in the universe (*lit* to which the universe yields obedience)—of the lord of the time, the emperor of the period, the just Sultān, the shadow of God, Abu'l-Muzaffar Abu'l-Mansūr Abu'l-Ghāzī Sultān 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh to the Wazir of the Wazirs of the time, the confidence of the

Royal Court, the trust of the State, the Khān, the exalted Commander-in-Chief, Mūsa Khān, had the honour of issuing to this effect, that he himself be at the spot and occupy himself in repelling the enemy. Thereupon the exalted Khān with all caution baffled the enemy day and night. And by the divine decree a gun-shot struck the body of Mīr-i-Mīrān in such a manner that he expired in that very intrenchment (whence he was bombarding the fort). Three days after his death peace was concluded. When the siege had been raised the supreme orders were issued to the above-mentioned Khān (Mūsa Khān) that a large bastion be built at this place, so that the enemy might not get an opportunity to dig intrenchments and mines (on this side). In obedience to the auspicious (and) exalted orders, through the efforts of the aforesaid Khān this large bastion (was built) within a short time, and completed in the year 1077 H (1666 A.D.) And the architect's name—Dharmāchār

SOME MUSLIM INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY AND ORISSA

By G. YAZDANI

During the last year the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, sent to me for decipherment and translation the rubbings of a large number of inscriptions from which I have selected eight inscriptions for publication in this *Journal*. These inscriptions are interesting both from the historical and palaeographic points of view and I have studied them in their chronological sequence so far as has been found practicable from their geographical positions. The earliest of these inscriptions, dated 20th Shawwāl 1063 H is carved on a mosque at Poonamalle, in the Sriperumbudur taluqa of the Chingleput District. It is a bilingual record, in Persian and Telugu, mentioning the name of Mir Jumla the well-known Qutb Shāhī general, who by his conquests and statesmanship established Qutb Shāhī rule in the Carnatic. The inscription shows him as the Governor of the province (Carnatic), while the name of another official, Rustam son of Dhu'l-Fiqr is mentioned, who was apparently in charge of a district (*sarkār*), thus being subordinate to Mir Jumla.¹

The Persian version of the inscription consists of eight lines, the script being *Nasta'liq*.² I have deciphered the text as follows —

Plate XVIII (b)

هو السمع العلم
در زمان خلافت سلطنت (Sic) ناسا

حمایت ملایک سناہ ظل اللہ سلطان

عند الله قطب شاه حلد الله ملكه الى يوم العدم
در انال بواب مستطاب معلا (Sic) العال بواب حملة

الملكي منير محمد سعد نا هسب جهان مستدام ناد

نناكره و ننام رسامد مسند را نندة درگاه رستم

افس درالععار اسدرا نادی نترنج سوال ۲۰ سنه ۱۰۶۳

¹ For the life history of Mir Jumla please see *Ma'aẓẓirul Umara* (Bibl Ind.), Vol III, pp 530-55

² The inscription is carved on a large arch shaped tablet of black granite, measuring 4 ft 5 in from the apex to the bottom and 2 ft 9 in in breadth. The inscription is registered as No 303 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, 1938-39

TRANSLATION

HE HEARETH AND KNOWETH !

“During the illustrious (?) reign of the king equal in rank to Jamshīd, whose army is the heavenly host, the shadow of God,¹ Sultān ‘Abdulla Qutb Shāh—may God preserve his kingdom till the day of resurrection—and during the government of the gracious Nawāb, enjoying high titles, Nawāb Jumlatā’-l-Mulkī Mir Muhammad Sa’id—may he live as long as the world lasts—the humble servant of the court, Rustam, son of Dhu’l-Fiqr of Istarabād, built and completed the mosque Dated 20th Shawwāl 1063 H (3rd, September 1653 A D)”²

The Telugu version has been kindly deciphered by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, and his reading of the text with its translation into English is given below —

Plate XVIII (b)

- Line 1 Svasti Śrī [||~] Vijaya ibhyudaya-Sāhivāhana-Śaka-varshambbulu 157[8] agunēti
Vijaya samvatsara Bhādrapada śu 13-
,, 2 lu yī śubhadrāmāmaddu Gōlakomdda simhāsanaḍhīśvarumdana Hajarati Ālam-
pannī Sulutinnu A
,, 3 bḍhullī Kutupu-Śahārājugūri kāryakartalaina Hajarati Navābu Sāhēbulugāri
kāryakartā [Pū]-
,, 4 namallī kōṭi Havāḷudārumdu Sujāyita-Āsiri³ Rūstum-bBēgu Pūnamalli-sthalamamddu
āham
,, 5 drārka-sthīyigīnu masīdu katimehennāru [||*] ganaka yī masīdu samastamaina
vāruunu paripāṇu
,, 6 śīrangalavāru [||*] paripāṇu ścīnavānki shōḍasa-mahādīnālu, sēsina-sukritam
kaddu [||*] m-
,, 7 dka yavaru vikḥitam talaustunnārō vāru Kāsīlō gōhatya ścīna dōshāna pōḍuru
[||*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity!

In the (evehe) year Vijaya corresponding to 157[8] of the victorious Sāhivāhana—Śaka era, (on the) 13th (ithi) of the bright fortnight (of the month) of Bhādrapada—on this auspicious day, Sujāyita Āsiri Rustam bBēgu, the Havāḷudāru of the fort at Pūnamalli (Poonamallee), the agent (Iryalartta) of Hajarati Navābu-Sāhēbulugāru, (who was himself) the agent of Hajarati Ālampannī Sulutinnu Abdullī Kutupu Śahārājugāru, the lord of the Golakonda throne, built at Pūnamalli (Poonamallee) this mosque, to last as long as the Moon and Sun

Therefore, all people shall protect this mosque Those that protect (it) will get the merit of making the sixteen great gifts, those that cause obstruction (to it) will incur the sin of killing a cow at Kāsī (Benares)

¹ The titles of Sultān ‘Abdulla given here are the same as those given in the Ambār Khāna inscription of the Golconda fort E I M, 1913 14, p 57

² In the margin of the tablet two Persian couplets are carved, the letters of which have been abraded by the effect of weather The following words can however be deciphered

ب خانه را شکست و مسجد بنا نهاد شکست کافر .

TRANSLATION

Destroyed the house of idols and built a mosque, demolished , infidels ,
built

³ This is the Persian expression, ‘*Shuja’at Aṭṭar*’ meaning ‘bearing the marks of valour’, i.e. valiant

This Telugu version is engraved below the Persian inscription. The superstructure of the mosque is built of brick and mortar, the base being of stone, which may have originally formed part of a Hindu temple.

There is a slight discrepancy in the Śaka date 157[8] given in the inscription. It must be Śaka 1575, which regularly corresponded to the cyclic year Vijaya quoted in the record. The astronomical details given for this date, namely, Bhādrapada, śu 13, furnish the English equivalent A.D. 1653, August 26, which according to the *Indian Ephemeris* of L. D. S. Pillai was the 12th day of Shawwāl month of 1063 H., whereas the Persian date as deciphered by Mr. Yazdani, is Shawwāl 20¹.

The next inscription in chronological order is from a mosque at Cuddapah, which was the seat of the Qutb Shāhī governors of the Carnatic in the middle of the seventeenth century and later of the Mughal governors. The inscription mentions the name of Aurangzeb and records the breaking of idols and the building of a mosque in the Hijrī year 1103, corresponding to 1692 A.D. The first two lines of the inscription are benedictory, consisting of religious texts and a prayer for the longevity of the king's life. The language of these two lines is Arabic. Afterwards there are 8 lines of Persian verse, arranged in sixteen panels, each panel containing an hemistich. The style of writing is *Thulth* of an intricate type, such as is usually found in the inscriptions of South India.² I have deciphered the text as follows —

Plate XIX (a)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين و الصلوة و السلام على محمد رسولہ و آله و اصحابہ اجمعين
 اللهم ايد الاسلام و المسلمين بقاء سلطنة ابي الطغرصلى الدين محمد اورنگ زيب بهادر بادشاه
 عالمگير عازي

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (۱) دعائے جهاندار عالم بناہ | کہ نامش کد محو نام گناہ |
| (۲) ر دمرور صاحب قراں رزم گنر | شد مثل ار عادل ے نظمر |
| (۳) نماے کہ ار رور رار کشید | صدای ر ناہش دریا رسید |
| (۴) نہ ندے کہ رد آن سے ستر رور | حہ شورے قتادہ درنائے سور |
| (۵) دنی نسب ار بادشاہ زمین | رے در ولایت ندارن سحن |
| (۶) بنا کرد مسجد دنان را سکسب | ر محراب ہزار صد و سہ گرسب |
| (۷) طلب کردم ار عقل نارنج آن | چندن گفٹ شافع نگوسم بہان |
| (۸) کہ اس خانہ مدص و فصل حدای | نہا سد سال محمد رماے |

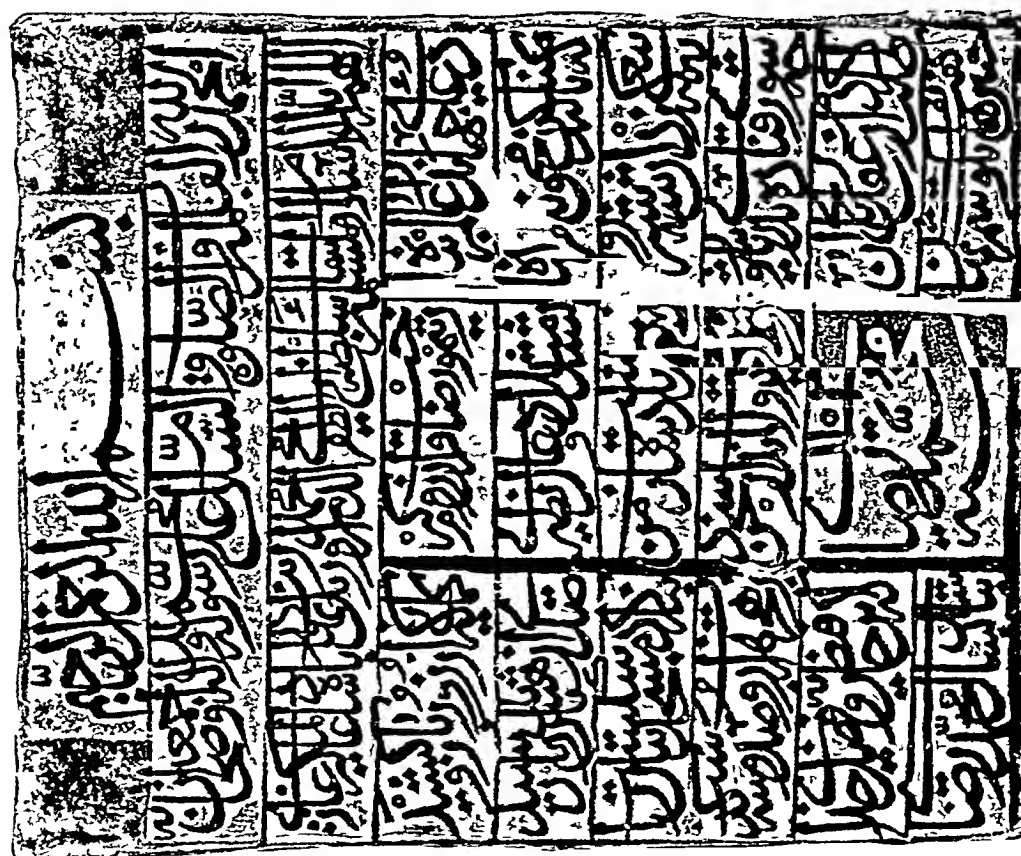
۱۱۰۳ھ

سنہ ۱۱۰۳ محمد رماے

¹The difference between the two dates is apparently due to the fact that the Telugu version was engraved eight days later than the Persian record. [Editor]

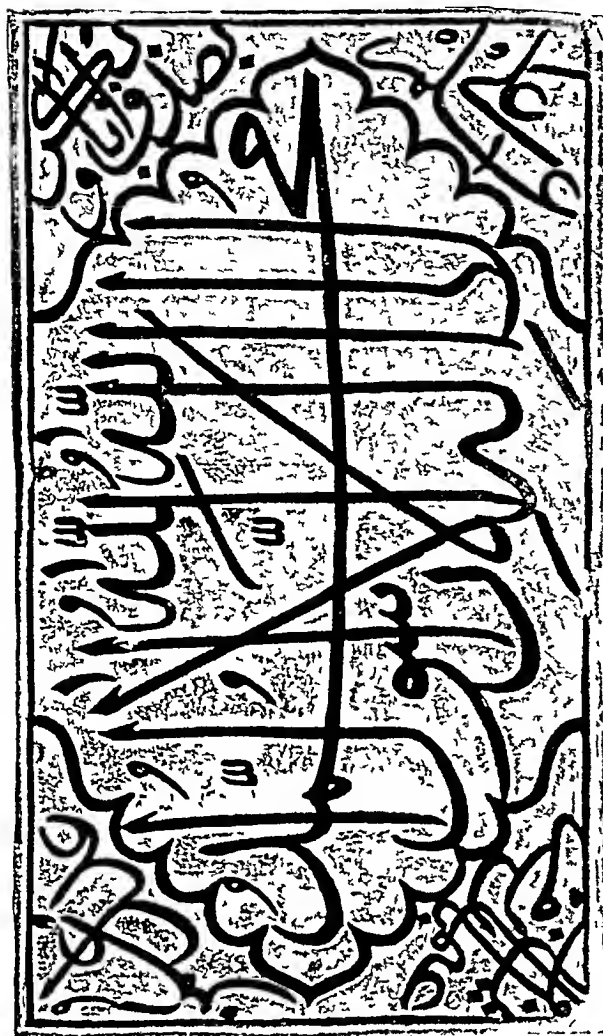
²The tablet on which the inscription is carved measures 2 ft 7 in. by 2 ft.

(a) Inscription on a mosque at Cuddapah



SCALE 160

(b) Inscription on another mosque at Cuddapah



SCALE 166

TRANSLATION

In the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate! Praise be to God, the Lord of all worlds, and blessing and peace be upon Muhammad, the apostle of God, and upon all his descendants and companions O God, help Islām and the Muslims by preserving the kingdom of Abu'z-Zafar Muhiu'd-Din Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahādur, the world-conquering ('Ālamgīr) and the victorious king

- 1 Blessed be the ruler of the world, the refuge of universe, whose name effaces the existence of sin
- 2 Since the time of Timūr, who conquered the kingdom of Romans, there has been no ruler just like the present king (Aurangzeb)
- 3 The bow which he has stretched by his powerful arms, is such that the echo of its twing has reached the (distant) seas
- 4 By the sword, which the powerful king has wielded, panic has sprung (even) in the ocean
- 5 Although the king of the time is not a prophet, yet there is no doubt in his being a friend of God
- 6 He built the mosque and broke the idols (at a time) when 1103 years had passed from the flight (of the Prophet)
- 7 I inquired of Wisdom regarding the chronogram the unknown inspirer uttered these words secretly in my ears
- 8 "This house of Divine grace and benevolence was built in the year to be obtained from *Muhammad Radā'i*"

In the year 1103 H contained in Muhammad Radā'i

According to the *Abjad* system of reckoning Muhammad Radā'i gives the date 1103 which tallies with the year given in the inscription

The third inscription in chronological order is also from Cuddapah, being carved on three stone tablets, one of which is rectangular in shape and the other two circular. The rectangular tablet measures 2 ft 7 in by 1 ft 6 in while the two circular tablets are 1 ft in diameter each. The style of writing is *Thulth* of an ornamental character and the language is Arabic as well as Persian. The Arabic text contains the *Kalima* and the names of the 'four companions' of the Prophet Muhammad. The Persian text comprises a verse mentioning the construction of a mosque by 'Abdu'n-Nabī in 1135 H (1723 A D).

The text has been deciphered as follows —

PLATE XIX (b)

Rectangular tablet

Middle Islamic creed.

In corners

بصدق انا نكر وعدل عمر ما رزم عثمان وعلم على

Circular tablets

بقرن حدارند عند النبى ده بسندك اسراں حصرت نبى

سنة ۱۱۳۵

TRANSLATION

Rectangular tablet

In the middle The Islamic creed

In the corners By the truthfulness of Abū Bakr, the justice of 'Umar, the honour of 'Uthmān and the knowledge of 'Alī'

Circular tablets

By the help of the master, 'Abdu'n-Nabī, they (the officials under 'Abdu'n-Nabī) built the house of the Holy Prophet (i.e. the mosque) in 1135 H (1723 A.D.)

The next inscription in chronological order is dated 1159 H and it is carved on a slab fixed over the entrance of Hadrat Ahmad Shāh's tomb at Cuddapah. According to the inscription the saint was born in 1072 H (1662 A.D.) and died in 1157 H (1744 A.D.), during the reign of the Mughal Emperor, Muhammad Shāh. The inscription further states that the tomb of the saint was built through the efforts of Sābū Bibī, the daughter of 'Abdu'n-Nabī. The latter is apparently the same person who built the mosque at Cuddapah (*supra* p. 55) and who was apparently the Governor of the Carnatic during the reign of Muhammad Shāh.

The inscription is carved on a tablet measuring 4 ft by 1 ft 5 in. The style of writing is *Thulth* of an intricate type which has made the inscription difficult to read. The language is Persian and the inscription is in verse consisting of four lines. I have deciphered them as follows —

PLATE XX (a)

(۱) مرشد کامل میر احمد ساه رحمتے بود دایم فیض نیکس دس احمد مصطفیٰ

(۲) راه رحمتے فیض در عالم بوده نارنج رحمت خوش وصالش گفت شایف سد رفیق حدی

هـ ۱۱۵۷

هـ ۱۰۷۲

(۳) صافوے لے دحیر عدد البتّی ح'ن نامدار روجه سد محمد صاحب عالی بنار

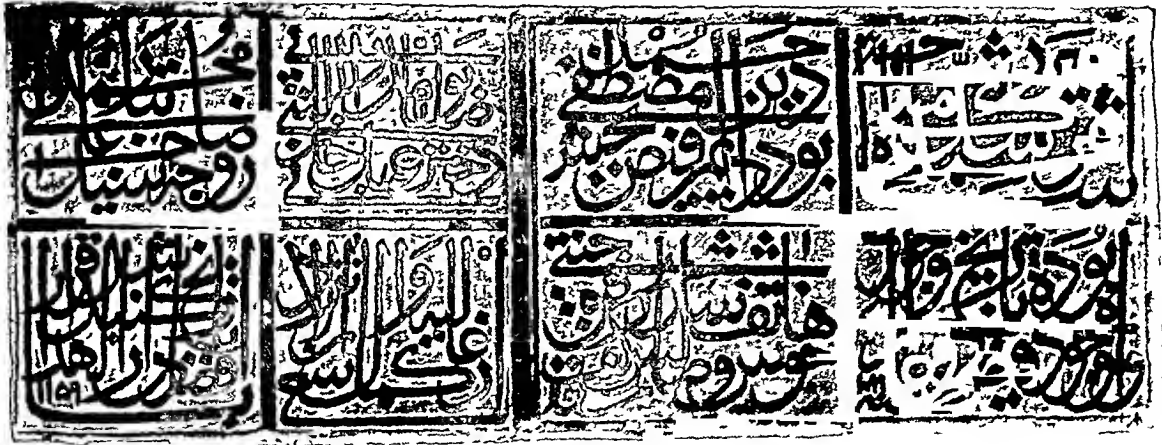
(۴) ار کمال سعی آن عالده والا نراد دار افضل دالهدا نارنج گند سد قرار

هـ ۱۱۵۹

TRANSLATION

- 1 The perfect guide, Mīr Ahmad Shāh, may God bless him, was always a benevolent preacher of the faith of Ahmad, the chosen Prophet
- 2 The chronogram of his birth, was (contained in the phrase) "How excellent is the existence, the felicity of both the worlds" — again how happy is his demise, for the divine inspirer has suggested the phrase 'He became the associate in Paradise', as chronogram
- 3 Sābū Bibī the daughter of the illustrious Khān, 'Abdu'n-Nabī, and the wife of Sayyid Muhammad of exalted rank
- 4 By the extreme efforts of that lady of noble descent (this tomb was built) and the phrase, 'the blessed abode of guidance' was composed as the chronogram

(a) Inscription on the tomb of Ahmad Shah at Cuddapah, Madras Presidency



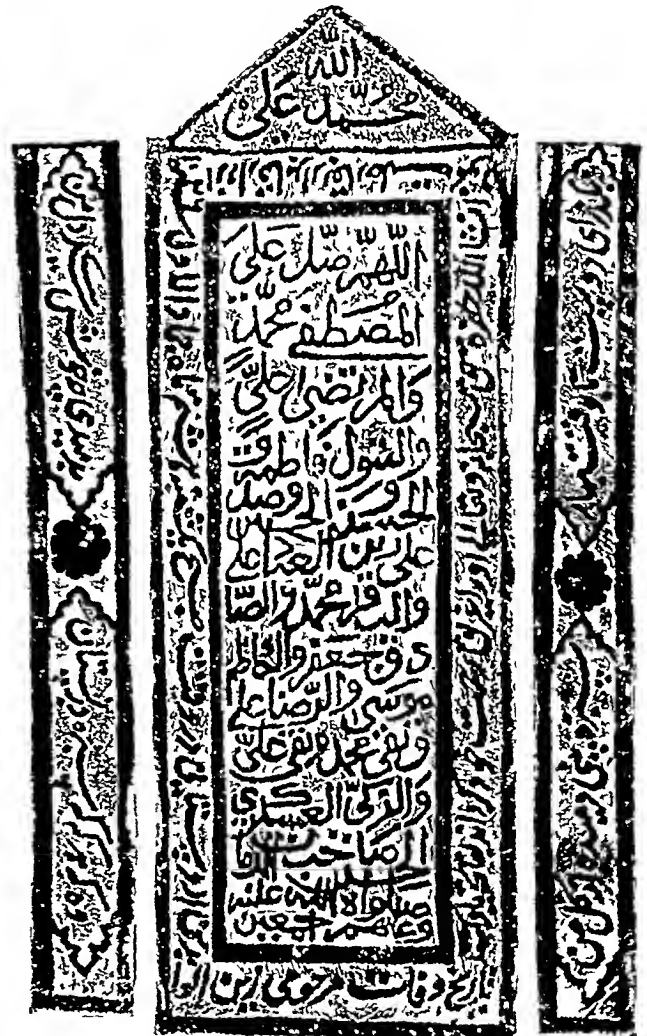
SCALE 125

(b) Inscription on a tombstone, survey No 437, Nizampatanam, Madras Presidency



SCALE 25

(c) Inscription on a tombstone in the village Nizampatanam, Madras Presidency



SCALE 166

The phrase *Dār-i-afdal bi'l-huda* (the blessed abode of guidance) gives the date 1159 H (1716 A D)

The next two inscriptions are comparatively of an earlier date than the previous inscriptions, being dated 1018 H and 1026 H respectively. They are carved on two slabs found near a *dargāh* at Nizampatnam, a village in the Bapatla taluq of the Guntur district. The texts of these inscriptions have a strong resemblance to the epitaphs found on the tombs of Quṭb Shāhī and 'Ādil Shāhī nobles at Goleonda and Bijapur. The earlier of these two records bears the name of Khvājah Shāh Haidar of Isfahan, while the other mentions the name of Zannu'l 'Ābidīn of Ardastan. It is not unlikely that these two persons had some kind of connection with either the 'Ādil Shāhī or the Quṭb Shāhī Court. The inscriptions begin with religious texts in Arabic and end with Persian verses referring to the transitoriness of the world. The Arabic texts are inscribed in the *Thulṭh* characters while the Persian verses are in the *Nastā'liq* script. The text of the inscription bearing the date 1018 H has been deciphered as follows —

PLATE XX (b)

يا الله

اللهم صلّ على المصطفى محمد واهل بيته على و النور فاطمه

[و] السيد طه الحسن والحسين و صلّ على الربنا (ربي)

العبد و الناظر محمد و الصادق جعفر و الكاظم موسى و زما (الرما)

على و النعمي محمد و النعمي على و

الحسن العسكري و صلّ على النجاة

العالم المندور (المندور) محمد المهدي صاحب الزمان ○

وفات مرحومي حواحه شاه حيدر اصفهاني في تاريخ

ربيع الاول سنة ١٠١٨ (هجري)

در دستي، درنده خاطر مبدع

چون عمر مدرود خو (حه) شدرس و حه تلح حور وعدا حق رسد چو (ده) نعداد و حه بلح

. دولب اگر نايده آخر بهنج

TRANSLATION

O God !

The Shute *durūd*¹

The death of Khvājah Shāh Haidar of Isfahan, may God bless him, occurred in the month of Rabi' I, 1018 H (May-June 1609 A D).

¹ For the complete text and translation see *E I M*, 1015 16, pp 26 27.

Verse

Thou shouldst not feel sorry for old friendship As life is to pass away, it is of no consequence whether it is sweet or bitter when the call from God comes, it is immaterial whether you are in Baghdad or Balkh Even if you succeed in possessing wealth, at last you shall leave it

The other inscription has been deciphered as follows —

PLATE XX (c)

الله محمد علی

درود شریف

تاریخ وفات مرحومی زین العابدین اردستانی در وقت صبح یکشنبه هشتم

ماه حماد الاول سنه ۱۰۲۶ ار دار فنا دار نعا رحلت نمود انشاء الله

حصه حق سجدانه و تعالیٰ او را عریق رحمت خود گرداند ○ نعاکه یاد کند

ره که هر که سوره درستان دمدی چه حشر شدی دل من
نگذر ای دوست تا نوبت بهار سوره ندی دمدی از گل من

TRANSLATION

Allāh ! Muhammad ! 'Alī !

The *Shute durūd*¹

The date of the death of Zainu'l-Ābidīn of Ardastan, may God bless him ! On the morning of Sunday, the 8th of Jumad I, 1026 H (Sunday, 4th May, 1617 A D) he marched from this frail world to the everlasting region God willing ! The Most High and Holy God will take him into His Mercy (Visitors) should remember him by prayer

Verse

- 1 Oh ! how my heart was filled with joy when the green plants sprang up in the garden
- 2 O friend, pass by my tomb in spring-tide so that thou mayst see verdure sprouting from my ashes

The last two inscriptions are dated 1147 H and 1188 H respectively, and their tablets are now preserved in the collection of Mr B N Roy of Puri The inscription dated 1147 H was originally set up over the entrance of an Imām Bāra,² the provenance of which is not known The inscription consists of two lines of Persian verse

¹ See *E I M*, 1915 16, pp 26 27

² A place of worship of the Shi'a faith Bāra meaning a fort or a house, Imām Bāra, a house dedicated to the glorification of the noble deeds of the Imāms

(a) Inscription on a stone tablet in Mr B N Roy's collection, Puri

کرد برپا عظیم العذر
یک سرفراز بریدن
همین رخ آن بخت
اکوای صبه طابین

SCALE 166

(b) Another inscription in the same collection

فاطمه یکیم بنای
کردن حق را او سازد سپا
گفت از دل سال او هفت نو
شد بنای مسجدی تقوی

SCALE 166

(c) Inscription of 'Alau'd-Din Khalji, Muttra, U P

بجاء برپا عظیم العذر
الله عز وجل

SCALE 166

The style of writing is *Nastā'liq* of a fair class¹ I have deciphered the text as follows —

PLATE XXI (a)

(۱) کرد دریا در عظم العدر یک سرافراز ندۀ حسن

(۲) هم بنارنج آن نگهبان که نگر ناب رزمۀ سطن

TRANSLATION

(1) A lofty gate has been built by an exalted servant of Hasnam²

(2) As regards the chronogram *Nisbat* remarked "Say it is the gate of the mausoleum of the two sons of 'Alī 1147 H

The phrase according to the *Abyad* system gives the year 1147 H corresponding to 1734 A D, falling in the reign of the Mughal Emperor, Muhammad Shāh, who ruled from 1719 to 1718 A D

The second inscription refers to the building of a mosque by one Fāṭima Begam in 1188 H corresponding to 1774 A D and falling within the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II (1759-1806 A D) The style of writing is very beautiful, being *Nastā'liq* of a high class The inscription consists of two lines of Persian verse which are carved on a tablet, measuring 2 ft 9 in by 1 ft

The text has been deciphered as follows —

PLATE XXI (b)

(۱) فاطمه بنگم ندای مسعدی کرد نا حق را ادا سازد سپاس

(۲) گف ار دل سال از هانف رنو شد ندای مسعد تعوی اساس

سنه ۱۱۸۸

TRANSLATION

(1) Fāṭima Begam built a mosque with the view of glorifying God

(2) The inspirer suggested the chronogram heartily "A mosque the foundations of which are laid on piety has been built anew" 1188 H corresponding to 1774 A D

AN INSCRIPTION OF 'ALĀU'D-DĪN KHALJĪ RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT MUTTRA

By KHAN BAHADUR ZAFAR HASAN, SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY,
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Mr F S Growse in his well known *Memoir of Mathura* (Part I, p 64) writes "Thus, while there are abundant remains of the earlier Buddhist period there is not a single building, nor fragment of a building, which can be assigned to any year in the long

¹ The tablet on which the inscription is carved measures 2 ft 2 in by 10 in

² Hasnam refers to the two grandsons of the Prophet, Muhammad, whose names were Hasan and Husain The name of the builder of the gate was perhaps Sarafrāz Husam or Sarafrāz Hasnam, to which the poet has alluded by styling him as the exalted servant of Hasnam

interval between the invasion of Mahmud in 1017 A D, and the reign of Akbar in the latter half of the sixteenth century." Contrary to this belief I was incidentally informed a few days ago of an old Persian inscription to be found in the *dargāh* of a Muslim saint named Maḥmūd Shāh Wilāyat at Muttra. My informant, Maulvī Qadīr-i-Azam, was unable to read the epigraph, but he told me that he could decipher "Sikandar-i-Thānī" in it. This title was adopted by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khālījī, and, as according to the reading of Maulvī Qadīr-i-Azam, the record seemed to belong to that emperor, it was considered to possess great historical importance. I took an early opportunity to inspect the epigraph, and it is much gratifying to note that it responded to my expectation. I visited the *dargāh* under notice in company with Mr Ikram ul Haq, I C S, the Joint Magistrate of Muttra, on the 27th of August 1939. It is situated at the Simi Ghāt and consists of a small enclosure with the grave of the saint covered by a sandstone shed and lying about its centre. There are a few other graves in the compound, while the north-east and south-east corners of the enclosure are occupied by two domed tombs the former containing three graves and the latter only two. The enclosure so to say, is an ancient Muslim cemetery.

The epigraph is fixed on one of the north openings of the south-east tomb. The dome of this structure, supported originally on eight stone columns, is constructed on the corbeling principle with stone slabs overlapping one over the other, and it apparently belongs to the early period of the Muslim occupation of India, when the Indian builders still lacked the skill of constructing a true dome. The other tomb, which is also covered by a dome supported on twelve stone columns, is of a later date, probably of the Tughluq or Lodi period.¹

Unfortunately the inscription, which is engraved on a red sandstone slab is fragmentary. It is in Persian verse inscribed in *Nasta'liq* characters, and seems to have originally consisted of four lines of which only the second and fourth and also the small endings of the first and third exist. The epigraph runs as follows —

PLATE XXI (c)

علاو دینا و دیں سہ سکندر ثانی	ن دہد سلطانہ	(۱)
کشادہ شد سر مسجد العکابی	[م] لک گجرات	(۲)

TRANSLATION

- 1 during the reign of Sultān 'Alāi Dīn i-wa-Dīn Shāh Sikandar-i-Thānī
- 2 the ruler of Gujrat, opened at the mosque of Ulugh Khān

The event to which the epigraph refers is not clear. It however mentions 'Alau'd-Dīn Khālījī with his title Sikandar-i-Thānī (Alexander the Second), Gujrat and the mosque of Ulugh Khān. Now there were two Pathān nobles who are known to have borne the title of Ulugh Khān, one Ghiyāth-u'd-Dīn Balhan before he ascended the throne², and the other Almās Beg, the brother of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khālījī.³ Almās Beg Ulugh Khān was deputed by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khālījī for the conquest of Gujrat in the third year of his reign⁴ (697 H = 1297-98 A D), and it is believed that our inscription alluding to that expedition

¹ The group of tombs at the *dargah* of Shāh Wilāyat has been noticed in the *District Gazetteer, Muttra*, by D. L. Dyal & Broekman, I C S, p. 301, but the date assigned to them is of the sixteenth century.

² *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* by Dīau'd-Dīn Barīnī, Persian text, Bibliotheca Indica, 1862, p. 26.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 242, *Tārīkh-i-Farīshā*, Persian text, Naval Kishor Press, Lucknow, 1905, Part I, p. 101.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 251, *ibid.*, pp. 102-3.

records the erection of a mosque at Muttra by that noble. Early Muslim inscriptions in verse are very rare in India, and in this respect also the epigraph possesses an interest.

Evidently the inscription does not belong to the tomb on which it is at present fixed. Outside the enclosure, however, there is an old wall-mosque marked by three *mīhrāb* recesses¹. The central one of these *mīhrābs* is of red sandstone and bears a *Qur'ānic* inscription, which is partly obliterated, but the style of the script lends it a great antiquity. It is not improbable that the mosque referred to in the inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī is this wall-mosque, and that that inscription was originally fixed on it. The Custodian of the *dargāh* related that the sacred buildings at the enclosure were damaged lately by floods and that certain repairs were executed to them. He added that it was on that occasion that the inscribed slab of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī was set up at its present place. He had no information of the original site of the inscription, nor was he aware as to what happened to the missing portion of it.

¹ Immediately to the west of this wall mosque there is a modern mosque having its prayer chamber crowned by three domes and flanked on either side by a minaret.

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